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A SCHOOL HISTORY OF HAMPSHIRE

By F. CLARKE, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION AT HARTLEY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE SOUTHAMPTON

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INTRODUCTION

THE Study of Local History as a school pursuit has been introduced so recently that its proper function in a scheme of education is by no means settled. The writer is of the opinion that the subject will ultimately justify its claim to a place in the curriculum for two reasons. They are these :—

1. Local history affords scope for the teaching of that type of *Constitutional* History which is not only comprehensible by the pupils, but of genuine value to them, since the community with whose life it deals is the community which touches them most nearly in their own daily life. Constitutional History in the accepted sense —the record of the growth and transformations of national institutions—may indeed be too high a matter for ordinary pupils. But Constitutional History, as the simple straightforward tale of the way in which men have learned to live together, in village and manor, in borough and county, in parish and township, is not only of the highest educational value, but can be made strongly attractive to children, as the writer has proved.

2. In the second place Local History provides the learner of *National* History with eyes, to help him of his blindness. Written and taught as it should be, in close relation to existing monuments, Local History might transform the wearisome routine of the textbook, into a living pageantry of activity and colour.

This little book is an attempt to present the story of Hampshire on these lines. The writer has endeavoured

to tell the story of the county as a community (an ancient one) in itself. He has tried to avoid the temptation of writing a short History of England, commented upon from the History of Hampshire. The County—land and people—is the central unity. The Table of Contents may serve to illustrate the writer's point of view in this respect.

An effort has also been made to use existing monuments as freely as possible. Illustrations and examples have been made as representative as circumstances will allow, and it is hoped that the book may be of use to teachers in all parts of the county, in suggesting what local monuments may be sought, even though it cannot exhaustively indicate what monuments will be found.

If the book should serve to stimulate the interest of teachers and children in local historic remains, and to offer a little guidance in the study of such remains, one, at least, of the author's objects will have been amply achieved.

The author gladly takes this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude the help and advice he has received from Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, from Mr. F. C. Eeles, from Mr. D. R. Bennett, and from those friends who have kindly read proofs and offered hints and suggestions.

In the search for suitable illustrations he has received material assistance from Mr. S. de Grouchy, Mr. J. F. Guyer, Rev. J. O. Baynes (Vicar of Odiham), Mr. J. P. Clarke of Whitchurch, Mr. R. Sandell, and, above all, from the Council of Hartley University College. To all these he now desires to express his thanks. Without their aid the book would have lost much both in attractiveness and usefulness.

F. CLARKE.

SOUTHAMPTON,
Sept. 29, 1909.

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BEFORE THE DAYS OF "HAMTUNSCIRE"

CHAPTER I

THE BUILDING OF THE LAND CALLED HAMPSHIRE

If by the title *History of Hampshire* were meant the story of that *political division* of England to which the name Hampshire has been given, the early chapters of this book would not have been necessary. For the Romans had come to Britain, had stayed for four centuries, and the Saxons had been in the land for about three hundred years, before a division of Southern England received the name "Hamtunscire". And so, the story which these early chapters have to tell is, strictly speaking, the story, not of the "County of Southampton", but of those 1,500 square miles of Southern England which afterwards formed the county.

Let us, then, take a survey of this land that became Hampshire, for its hills and valleys and rivers have had much to do with the making of its history. Any one who has ever travelled through Hampshire must have noticed how the character of the country changes as we pass from one division of the county to another. For example, travellers from Southampton to Winchester pass first through a land of pleasant pastures, of thick oak woods in the valleys, and pine woods, furzy heaths, and sandy commons on the higher ground. Near Twyford they find themselves in a land where trees are much fewer, where small beeches and yews take the place of great oaks and pines, and where the rich long grass of the pastures is replaced by the short close turf of the open, rolling, sheep-cropped Downs.

Changes quite as striking may be seen in other parts of Hampshire, and so we are able to mark out several distinct divisions, each having its own special character.

The map on p. 11 will enable us to understand how these divisions are made. Let us begin from the centre and work outwards. Central Hants, as we see, consists almost entirely of a broad band of chalk country extending from east to west with a slight northerly turn. From north to south this band is about twenty-five miles wide, and indeed the chalk-lands occupy more than one-third of the whole county. The chalk forms a rolling central tableland, highest at its edges, for near Burghclere in the north-west, and near Petersfield in the south-east, it reaches a height of nearly 900 feet. At the eastern end of the chalk band a small portion of the Sussex Weald overlaps into Hampshire. Alton and Selborne stand on the edge of this district, while Petersfield is the chief town within it. North and south of the chalk band you will see districts marked by a dotted surface. These are, as it were, the flanks of the central chalk-lands. They are formed of sandy clays and gravels. Thick woods of oak and holly grow in their damp hollows, while the higher tracts, such as those around Aldershot and Southampton, are dense with pine woods, or else—like the commons of Hook, Eversley, and Aldershot in the north, Chilworth, Baddesley, and Stony Cross Plain in the south—wind-swept heaths, where stripling pines and stunted birches divide with heather and coarse grass the scanty moisture which is afforded by the sandy soil. (Portsdown Hills in the south we ought to regard as a kind of chalk island rising above the surrounding gravels and clays.) The clay and sand are continued in the northern half of the Isle of Wight as far as the central range of chalk hills. Thus between the chalk of Central Hants and the chalk of Central Wight we have the great stretch of sands and clays and gravels which, because it fills a shallow elliptical depression in the chalk, is known as the " Hampshire Basin ". Imagine a shallow tray filled with sand, gravel, and clay, and so low near the centre that water remains in the hollows ; you will

GEOLOGICAL MAP OF HAMPSHIRE

then have a rough idea of the nature of this "basin". The northern portion of Hants is really part of a similar "basin", only in this case the basin is much larger, and stretches far beyond our county.

This, then, is our general picture of the county as it is to-day:—A raised central band of chalk containing the sources of the Hampshire rivers, having on its eastern edge a fragment of the Sussex Weald, on its northern edge a part of the London Basin, on its southern edge the whole of the Hampshire Basin. (Southampton Water and the Solent and Spithead Straits are really portions of this southern "basin" of sands and clays, but, fortunately for Hampshire's commerce, these parts are now beneath the sea.)

Now we know that in the millions of years of our old earth's history the land has passed through great changes. We have seen what Hampshire is to-day; can we find out anything about the changes which, through long ages of the past, have served to build up our county as it now is? The story of the building of Hampshire must be read in the rocks and stones and soils of the land itself. Just as a student of architecture could tell us by examining the plan, the style of work, the ornaments, and the details of a church, almost exactly when the church was built, so the student of the earth's architecture can construct for us the story of a piece of land-building, such as the building of Hampshire.

Let us see, then, if we can put together, from what the earth-student—the geologist—tells us, the story of the long, long process of earth-architecture that gave us Hampshire. Try first to imagine a time when the greater part of the south and east of England did not exist, and "Hampshire" was a great shallow estuary. In this estuary was formed the clay which now lies deep down beneath the chalk, coming to the surface outside our own county, in Sussex. Then came a time when, through the sinking of the land, this estuary, together with half of England, was submerged beneath a deep ocean. Through a vast period of time, far too long for our imaginations to grasp, there were being formed

beneath this ocean those vast deposits of limy shells and skeletons of sea-animals which now go to make up so much of the chalk and the rocks like the chalk. In the east of Hampshire the surface has been so worn away that we can now see some of the rocks, known as "Greensands", which were deposited as sand beneath this great ocean, just before the chalk was formed.

These deep-sea deposits had reached a thickness of some thousands of feet (as we can tell by their thickness at the present day) before the next great change took place. The land again rose, the great sea became shallower, and gravels and clays were now deposited above the chalk. The Hampshire Basin in the south and the London Basin in the north show these deposits, and possibly they once covered the whole county, but have been worn off the high land in the centre. In this shallow sea, near the river mouths, lived turtles, crocodiles, and other reptiles, while on its shores grew plants very similar to those we know to-day. More and more gravel and clay were laid down as time went on; the gravel to give us those open furzy heaths that we know so well; the clay to support those great oak forests—New Forest, Bere, Tadley—which were once the glory of Hampshire.

But, meanwhile, these thick layers beneath the sea, originally almost level, were receiving strong pressure on their southern edge, so that they wrinkled like a skin into creases that ran roughly east and west. And so, when the land of Hampshire slowly rose above the level of the sea it presented an appearance not very unlike that of to-day. A long ridge ran from Sussex through what is now the North Downs about Kingsclere. Another great ridge, now very much worn down, ran across the centre of the county. The northern ridge was probably the higher, so that rivers like the Test rose, not in the centre, but in the north. A third ridge ran through the southern part of what is now the Isle of Wight. But between that ridge and the central one of Hants came, not a strait, but a great estuary pointing eastward, and reaching the sea somewhere near Langstone Harbour.

Now that the land of Hampshire—built, as we have

seen, under the protection of the seas—was above water, rain and rivers, wind and frost began their work of carving out the valleys, and levelling many of the heights; while the sea, as though in revenge, attacked the land and began to form the rugged cliffs that we can see in the Isle of Wight and elsewhere. The Test began its work of making a long north to south valley, filling it in parts with gravel and alluvial soil and often changing its course. The Itchen, too, then flowed due south throughout its course. But its tributaries from the east were able to carve out their channels more deeply, and became the main stream, so that in time the northern part of the Itchen disappeared, and its waters were captured by the Test. The stream that now flows past Stoke Charity carries water that once would have belonged to the Itchen. In the forests or rivers lived and died such animals as the elephant, hippopotamus, ox, horse, antelope, deer, tiger, and beaver; and all our present Hampshire must have been full of life, though man had not yet appeared. But nearly all this rich life must have come to an end in the age that followed. For this next age was one of intense cold. A great ice-sheet, hundreds of feet thick, covered all Northern Europe. Hampshire, however, was just to the south of it, and the only trace the ice has left near us is in the blocks of stone which floating icebergs carried to Selsey.

Then seems to follow a time when a warmer sea washed our coasts to a height of more than a hundred feet above its present level. So Southampton Water and the two Straits must have been much more extensive than they now are, and their present shores became covered with fresh layers of gravel and mud.

But once more the land rose, once more the Isle of Wight became part of the mainland, the present Solent and Spithead forming the lower part of a great river flowing out of Dorset and receiving as its tributaries the Test and Itchen, the Medina and the Yar. The rivers continued their work, animals reappeared, and now among the gravels that the rivers were washing down at this time we can find those rude stone implements that give

us the first vague hint of man's existence—the "River Drift" man of whom we shall speak in the next chapter. The Hampshire that those rude far-away men knew was not very unlike our own. The winters were colder; the animals—elephant, rhinoceros, mammoth, musk-ox, reindeer, and other arctic creatures—were different. But the outline of the land was much the same, and when the sea, after carving away more and more from the southern edge of what is now the Isle of Wight, at length broke in near the Needles—those remains of ruined hills—and flooded the lower part of the Solent River, little remained to be done to finish off the work of building the Hampshire of to-day. The magnificent harbours of Portsmouth and Southampton, which have been as closely bound up with the past fortunes of our county as they now are with its present prosperity, are thus, in a geological sense, the creations of yesterday.

Let us, in concluding this chapter, recall once more the steps of the process by which our Hampshire land has been built—the laying of the chalk foundation deep beneath a great ocean; the raising of the chalk beds, wrinkled and cracked, to form great ridges; the long process of wearing by rain and stream, by wind and frost; the rivers and the returning sea covering great stretches with thick sheets of clay and sand and gravel; the slow rise of the land, causing the coast to push steadily southward for a time, and then the final incoming of the sea to form those great waterways of the south which are still the glory of Hampshire:

Both roads that with our best may boldly hold their plea,
Nor Plymouth's self hath borne more braver ships than they.—DRAYTON.

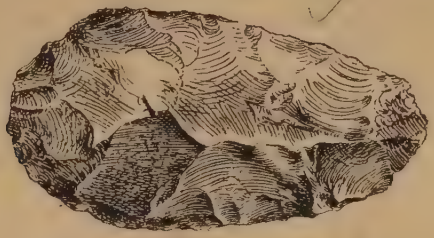
CHAPTER II

THE EARLY INHABITANTS. BURIED HISTORY

In the last chapter we saw how the land that is now Hampshire has been built up. We saw, too, that the story of its building has been told from the results of an examination of the land itself—its rocks, its flints, its clays, muds, and gravels. But were there no men alive in the land when the rivers were scouring out their valleys; when the Solent was a river and the Isle of Wight no island; when the sea-beaches of to-day were still miles inland? How are we to know whether a Hampshire land so different from our own was ever looked upon by the eyes of man? For an answer to our question we must turn again to the student of land architecture—to the geologist, for, since he can tell us the order in which the various deposits were laid down, perhaps he can also tell us when the first signs of human life appeared.

With the geologist's help we can picture the Hampshire land as it was in those faint beginnings of human history. The central mass of chalk existed, thickly covered in most parts with a layer of clay and gravel, on which, no doubt, great forests flourished, while its surface was much less cleft and scored by rivers than it is to-day. The great "coat" of clay and gravel extended beyond the chalk lands southward to the shores of what was then the Solent River. But heavy rains, helped by the frosts of severe winters that split and shattered the softer rocks, were carrying away this surface coat and cutting through it to form ever deepening valleys for Avon and Stour, for Test and Itchen, and a host of smaller streams. The gravels washed down by the streams have yielded to diligent searchers most of the flint tools which prove for us the early existence of man. So remote must that age have been that many implements are found far above the present level of the streams that washed them down. On the Bournemouth cliffs; on the hilltops, more than 200 feet

above the Southampton Itchen; and on the gravel terraces of Southampton Common and Shirley these remains have been found. The period of time which a river would require to deepen its valley even a hundred feet is too much for our imaginations to grasp, and exactly how long these tools—dropped, perhaps, from the hands of careless or terrified hunters—have been lying in their gravelly beds none can tell.



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PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS
(1) Palaeolithic (2) Bronze

A sketch of one of these tools is shown above (No. 1). One glance is sufficient to show how rude and uncouth the life of these early inhabitants must have been. They kept no cattle, they knew nothing of agriculture, they had no pottery, they did not even attempt to improve the edges of their roughly chipped stone tools by grinding one against another. For houses they would use caves, or niches beneath a sheltering ledge of rock. Where no such natural homes existed they might fashion rude huts from branches of trees, which they broke off, or hewed roughly away with their poor implements. Yet they knew how to

produce and use fire ; they could catch and kill animals for food ; and some of their ancient dwelling-places still show the fragments of bones pounded to pieces in order that the marrow might be extracted. A poor spectacle, indeed, are these early men.

But Hampshire has revealed stone tools of a much finer type than those of the " River Drift " men of whom we have been speaking. Along with these much-improved tools are found other remains, which show that the River Drift men were succeeded by a race, rude and barbarous it is true, but much more advanced in the arts of life than their predecessors. Whether they came and drove out the River Drift men, or whether they found the land quite uninhabited, we do not know. When they did reach Hampshire, they occupied mainly the chalk-lands of the centre. For it is on the chalk plateau that their remains have been found in greatest quantities. The hills about Andover, St. Mary Bourne, and Hurstbourne Tarrant have furnished large numbers. Some traces are to be found in the south also, as certain discoveries near Southampton prove. From these remains, with the help of others found in various parts of England, we can form some idea of the life lived by the Later Stone men. In every way they were superior to the Old Stone men of the remote past. They were a pastoral people, and in Hampshire their herds of small hardy oxen roamed over the chalk-lands, the herdsmen protecting their cattle from wolves and hyaenas, sometimes by raising ramparts of earth, sometimes by interlacing the boughs and brambles on the outer edge of the thick woods that on all sides skirted the chalk hills. The tribal villages on the Downs consisted of groups of circular huts, each having a floor two or three feet below the ground level. The heaped-up earth all around formed a simple wall, and above was a roof of intertwined branches. In the centre of each hut lay a rude hearth of rough stones, while outside many of the dwellings a larger hearth was sometimes built, where cooking might be done on a more generous scale. Remains still found on these hearths bear witness to feasts of roast

venison and ox-flesh, washed down perhaps by milk from the herds. The hut-dwellers were also able to spear fish, and though they seem to have known little of agriculture they knew enough of plant-foods to be able to enjoy an occasional change from their flesh diet.

On the chalk Downs circular depressions can in some places still be seen marking the sites of the ancient hut-dwellings. The race that followed the Later Stone men sometimes made use of the dwellings of the expelled inhabitants. Some ancient pit-dwellings, fashioned by the stone-users, and seized and improved upon by the bronze-users of a later period, were discovered some years ago near Hurstbourne Tarrant. In them were found not only the flint implements of the Stone men, but also the millstones, the pottery, and other implements of the conquerors.

The tools of the Later Stone men, many of which have been found in Hampshire, show how human knowledge and the arts of man were advancing. Ceasing to rely upon chance flints picked up, the implement makers drove mines beneath the gravel beds in order to find the best material for their craft. The flakes were not only chipped, but ground at the edges; their surfaces were frequently polished; and, when necessary, the instrument—axe, hammer, knife, or arrow-head—was fitted to a handle instead of being simply grasped by the hand. Chisels, gouges, adzes, and spear-heads are among the other instruments found. Thus the Hampshire man of three or four thousand years ago was not at all badly equipped. With his stone axe he could fell trees, and with hatchet, chisel, and gouge, hollow out their trunks to form his rough canoes, or fashion their branches into a roof for his pit dwelling. With arrow and spear he could slay the deer, the ox, the birds, and even the fish that supplied his daily food, and with them, too, he might protect his herds from the marauding raids of wolf and bear. The skilfully handled flint-knife enabled the hunter to remove the skins from dead animals, and with the same instrument his hard-worked women-folk would dress the flesh for a meal. From the dead animals were also

obtained the tough sinews which formed his bowstrings, bound arrow- and spear-heads to their shafts, and—used as thread in bone needles—enabled him to perform that amount of rough tailoring which his winter suit of skins required. Of bone, too, he made guards to protect his wrists against the sting of a recoiling bowstring, awls to penetrate his thick garments of skins, and even arrow-heads and daggers. The antlers of a dead stag provided him with the ready-made picks which he needed for the hollowing out of his half-subterranean dwelling, or for throwing up a rampart to protect his family and cattle.

His appearance we can only guess at, from the skeletons that ancient burying-places have disclosed. Of middle height, slight rather than thick-set, with an oval-shaped face, and a skull much less in width from side to side than in length from back to front, he is to be compared with a type of man still to be found in many remote parts of the British Isles at this day.

The stone-using men continued in occupation of this country of upland chalk and lowland forest until a period which we may fix roughly at about three thousand five hundred years ago. After that time the revelations of pick and shovel have a different tale to tell. The burying-grounds of this next period reveal skeletons of men either short and thick-set, or tall and finely built; their heads are not long and narrow, but round, their foreheads often low and retreating, and the "barrows", or burial mounds in which their remains are found, are, like their heads, more frequently round than long. Finer instruments of stone appear, new forms of decoration are found, and, now and then—along with the stone tools—weapons and implements made, not of stone, but of bronze, occur. Our own county can show great numbers of the round, low mounds, beneath which still rest the remains of a bygone Hampshire people. Cross the gravelly heaths of the New Forest, climb to the crest of Ladle Hill, of Beacon Hill, or of any of the Hampshire heights in the north, wander over the grassy uplands of mid-Hants, or the heathy stretches in the east. Everywhere you will come across these memorials of a buried people. Some-

times, as at Tidworth, Burghclere, and Stockbridge, the mounds are found in groups of seven; sometimes, as at Beaulieu and Petersfield, they lie dotted over the face of an open heath; or again, as at Hackwood, Broughton, or

Burial Urns
Found in a 'tumulus' in the New Forest

Upham, they stand out like great warts on the surface of the undulating downs. Some of the mounds, tumuli, or "butts" (as they are called in the New Forest) have been opened. The Hampshire ones have sometimes disclosed large burial urns, fragments of pottery, and,

occasionally, pieces of bronze. The illustration on p. 21 shows the contents of a New Forest barrow, opened many years ago. Similar urns have been found at Dummer. Of these some are still to be seen in museums at Southampton, Reading, and other places.

Now, you may ask, why should we need to hear so much about these round heaps of gravel, or earth, or chalk? Why talk so much about these in a history book? The answer is that each one of these dull-looking heaps *is* a little history book, and taken together they can tell us a story about the state of Hampshire at a time when no written account existed. That story is of a fresh race of men, whose very name is unknown, who crossed into Britain from the Continent—a race stronger, fiercer, and more brutal, perhaps, than the Stone men, a race whose life on the Continent had taught them arts of which the Stone men were ignorant. No wonder, then, that the newcomers drove the Stone men out, or made slaves of them, and themselves dwelt in the land. Yet the conquest did not bring peace. For the new-comers were no united nation. Divided into many warring tribes, living as much by the plunder of one another as by the produce of their own flocks and herds, their condition was one of perpetual warfare and turmoil. How do we know this? you may ask. To find an answer, climb to the summit of any of our higher Hampshire hills. You will find hardly one that does not bear on its crest the high grass-grown rampart and the deep, though dried-up ditch of an ancient camp. Old Winchester Hill near East Meon, St. Catherine's Hill near Winchester, Danebury near Andover, and Ladle Hill near Burghclere can show some of the finest and largest. But any village on the chalk-lands would be poor indeed if it could not show somewhere in the neighbourhood traces of these ancient fortifications. Now, although many of these great strongholds were used and strengthened by inhabitants of a later date, even by the Romans, there can be no doubt that they were first thrown up for the most part by the turbulent, warring people of whom we have been speaking. Very likely the tribe that owned such a camp would use

it only in times of danger, since food supplies for man and beast would soon have given out on the bare crest of a lofty hill. When the danger drew near—perhaps an attack by a party of marauders, or by another tribe seeking to recover its own plundered cattle—the whole of the threatened tribe, with cattle and belongings, would transfer itself to the protected hilltop and there hold out against the enemy. Blocking up the narrow entrance, the defenders could, from the ramparts, command the whole country around. Then, when the enemy approached and tried to pass the ditch and scale the steep rampart beyond, they would be met with the flint or bone tipped arrows, the javelins of bronze, and, at close quarters, with the stone-headed clubs and axes, or bronze knives and daggers, of the defenders. There could have been no long siege, and so the tribe within could sustain itself by milk and flesh from the cattle, and by the water that through mist and rain and dew, collected in the shallow " dew-ponds " which may even now be discovered high up on the chalk. Many a fight must the ancient ramparts of our great Hampshire camps have seen.

The tombs and the forts are not the only records we have of this restless people. Workmen digging up the streets or making new roads, or ploughmen breaking new ground, have occasionally come across the bronze tools and weapons used by some of them. The illustration on p. 17 (No. 2) shows a specimen of a " celt ", a kind of bronze axe, found in 1894 at Bitterne, near Southampton. Swords (Bishopstoke and Blackmoor), spear-heads (Bishopstoke, St. Denys, and Blackmoor), axes, ornaments, and daggers are among the other " finds ". We need not be surprised that so many of them are warlike in character.

So far, although we have been speaking of the time before the coming of the Romans, we have said nothing of the Ancient Britons, though the history book often mentions no other people as living here before Caesar's time. The reason is that the Britons, " ancient " as they were, had not yet arrived. This round-headed, bronze-using, fort-building race of warring tribesmen was *not*

composed of Britons, whatever its real name may have been. (It was not even Celtic, though many of the people of Wales to-day, and some of the people of England, are in part descended from it.) The Britons, or Brythons, probably did not appear in the land until about 400 years before Christ. Even they, it is thought, were preceded by another Celtic people, generally called Goidels. But the Brythons and not the Goidels seem to have occupied the Hampshire land, and, a little later, they were followed by a people very much like themselves, called by Caesar the Belgae.

Now commenced in Southern England days of quiet, when commerce and the arts of peace might be carried on. Towns sprang up, like Calleva (Silchester) in the north, and Venta (Winchester) in the centre of Hampshire. The new settlements were either protected by new earthworks, as at Calleva, or, where necessary, old works were strengthened, as at Winchester. Sheep were fed on the hills, wheat was grown in the fertile river valleys, while the crafts of the potter, the weaver, and the smith flourished in the towns and villages. Iron took the place of bronze for ordinary articles of metal; ornaments of gold and silver, often beautifully decorated with enamels, with chasing, or with twisted spiral patterns, were worn by the wealthy, and the growing use of coins showed how trade began to flourish. The early British coins were copied, no doubt, from those of Gaul, and those of Gaul were themselves derived from the Greek traders, whose head quarters were at Marseilles. Sometimes the actual Greek coins were used, for near Hurstbourne has been found a gold "stater" of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. In Hampshire, also, specimens of the iron bars which were sometimes used as money have been discovered. It is even said that Hampshire had some share in the ancient trade in tin, though this is unlikely. Ancient trackways, such as that passing from Salisbury by Andover and Whitchurch towards London, and its branch from the neighbourhood of Basingstoke towards Winchester, mark the lines of this early commerce.

Government, too, was becoming more settled. Tribes became united under one chief or king, and warfare became, not a mere series of raids, but real campaigning. Well-mounted cavalry on horses richly equipped, strong chariots with their javelin throwers, footmen with sword and sling, fought now rather like a disciplined army.

At the time of Caesar's coming Hampshire was almost entirely in the hands of the Belgic people, chief among them being the Atrebates with their capital at Calleva, and, near these, the Segontiaci. It is not certain that Caesar ever came as far west as Hampshire, but if he had done so, he would have found a prosperous land, well peopled, with villages and homesteads amid their flocks and cornfields, country towns and settlements active in industry and united to each other by the trackways along the hills, the houses of the rich comfortable and even luxurious, the poor still living, perhaps, in pit-dwellings, but much better off than the wild tribesmen of some centuries earlier. Certainly he would have found the Hampshire land a great contrast to the still wild and barbarous north.

And now, having reached the time of Caesar's landing, let us look back to see what the treasures of the earth have taught us about Hampshire and Hampshire men before his time. We have seen the Ancient Stone man chipping his rough flints perhaps 50,000 years ago, and leaving no other trace. We have seen, much nearer our own time, the Later Stone men, who made the finer implements and dug out the first pit-dwellings. Then came the mysterious, terrible people who threw up the round barrows and raised the great hill-forts. To them succeed the Celtic Brythons and the Belgae (preceded perhaps by a few Goidels), to be in turn attacked by Rome. Of all these peoples, except perhaps the Ancient Stone men, the Hampshire man still bears traces. So even in Caesar's time, before Saxon or Dane or Norman had appeared in the land, the British were a mixed race.

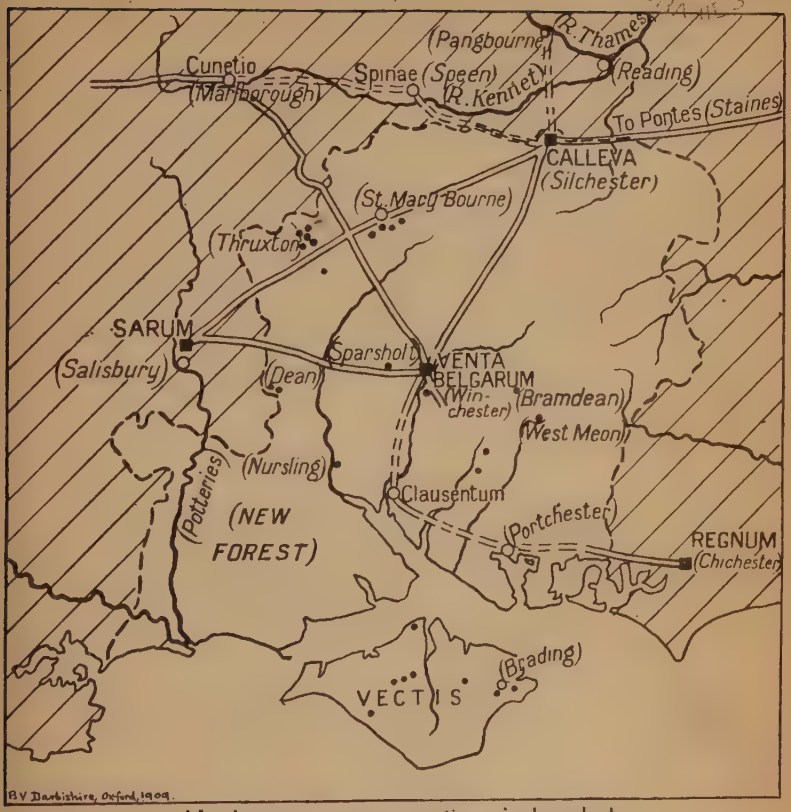
The next chapter will show us how the Hampshire land fared under its new masters, the Romans.

CHAPTER III

TRACES OF THE ROMANS IN HAMPSHIRE

The invasions of Julius Caesar (first landed in B.C. 55) mark the time when the people of our island—or at least of the southern part of it—began to draw more and more towards the Roman Empire. But nearly a hundred years had yet to pass before Rome, after several projected attempts, finally took Britain into the Empire. Caesar left in B.C. 54: the great expedition of Claudius did not reach our shores until A.D. 43. Do we know anything of Hampshire during this long period, and during the still longer period that followed the conquest of A.D. 43? Having few trustworthy written records about our Roman Period, we shall do best if we rely upon those other records which we owe to students who work not only with the pen, but with the spade also. For the story of Roman Britain exists not so much in books as in the very soil beneath our feet. In most parts of Hampshire, and indeed of all Southern Britain, the soil has retained for us coins, inscriptions, ornaments, domestic articles, foundations of farms, houses, and buried cities, in sufficient quantity to teach us a great deal about Roman Britain. These are the records upon which we must mainly rely. So we call this chapter "Traces of the Romans in Hampshire" because it is by means of those remains which have been found within our boundaries that we hope to draw some picture of the Hampshire land of nearly two thousand years ago.

During the century that followed Caesar's departure Southern Britain was governed by two great families. The east—and later on the south-east too—was the dominion of the sons of Cassivellaunus, chief among them Cunobelinus—the "Cymbeline" of Shakespeare's play. South of the Thames, over a kingdom that once reached as far as Kent, ruled the descendants of Commius, that king of the Atrebates who had helped Caesar in the invasion of Britain. This we can learn from the coins



Modern names are given in brackets

• Represents the site of a Villa

STATUTE MILES

10 0 10 20

ROMAN MILES

10 0 10 20

THE HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT IN ROMAN TIMES

that are still found. One of the sons of Commius, Eppillus by name, ruled at Silchester (or Calleva as it then was), for coins have been found of his with the inscription in Latin "Rex Calle[vae]" that is, King of Calleva. This use of Latin shows how Roman influence was spreading. The people then living in Hampshire were certainly carrying on brisk trade with Roman Gaul, were inclining more and more to the use of Roman customs, Roman manufactures, and Roman speech, and so were making the way easy for the complete Roman occupation that followed the conquest of A.D. 43. In this conquest the south and midlands were soon occupied and became the settled, comfortable, industrial part of Britain, while the north and west with their advanced military posts of York, Chester, Gloucester, and Exeter, became a fortified frontier-land, like the modern north-west frontier of India. In Hampshire barely a trace has been found of troops and warfare. Portchester and Clausentum (Bitterne), both military stations, were formed not at the first conquest, but many years after, when the attacks of sea-rovers and Roman usurpers had become serious. Thus, by about the year A.D. 80, we can picture Hampshire being rapidly transformed by Roman energy into a prosperous Roman land, most likely with the willing consent of the people. Roads were built (as shown on the map), and so thoroughly well that parts of them exist to this day. Notice that these roads are most numerous and most clearly defined in the north. In the south only one road exists—that from Portchester through Clausentum to Venta Belgarum (Winchester), and even this cannot now be traced through its whole length. Indeed, it was probably not made at all until the time of the attacks mentioned above. We must conclude, therefore, that the forests, the swamps, the mud-shores, and the barren heaths of the south were too uninviting for the Romans. They entered Hampshire, probably, from the direction of London, and it is in the north and centre that nearly all their remains are to be found.

But what were the places which Roman roads served to connect? There were at least two good-sized towns

—Calleva (now Silchester) and Venta (now Winchester). But even apart from these towns the land was well peopled. Caesar tells us how surprised he was at the dense population of Southern England; and in Hampshire the numerous hill-camps, the numerous remains of implements, and the great suitability of the chalk-lands and the fertile banks of the chalk-streams for a pastoral and corn-growing people, show very clearly that the half-deserted South was unlike the rest of the Hampshire country. Soon this native population gave up its own language and used Latin. Even workmen scrawled their names or their passing impressions on bricks and tiles in that language. The old arts of working in bronze or enamels or leather almost died out, and the people took to the use of Roman implements, or of implements made in imitation of Roman. Native pottery was still made in the New Forest, and in other out-of-the-way places the old arts were still carried on. But these spots were very few.

As we should expect, the old British towns were rebuilt in the business-like, regular, Roman style. From one of them, Venta, has sprung the city of Winchester, but the other, Calleva, has had no later town erected on its site, and so here we are able to trace out all the lines of the ancient Roman city.

The work of uncovering all that is left of the finely-built town has gone on steadily for years, and we can now picture to ourselves Silchester as it was in the days of prosperity, say at about the year 250. Inside the wide circle formed by the earthen walls of the Atrebates the Romans had laid out the regular, straight streets of a new town. At first no new town wall was built, for all the south country was at peace, and a country market-town needed no heavy military encumbrance. In the centre stood the heart of the town's life—the "forum", or market-place. This was not the roughly-paved, crowded space that would serve as the market-place of a country town to-day. You will get the best idea of it if you compare it to a great cloister "garth", or space, such as you can see at great cathedrals or

ruined abbeys like Netley to-day.[1] The paved court was surrounded on three of its four sides by arches supported on massive pillars. (A portion of one of the gateway pillars recently found is at least two feet six inches in diameter.) On the inner side of the arches was a covered walk; beyond that was a second square consisting of shops, business-rooms, and town offices, and outside these another covered walk which enclosed the whole forum. The eastern side was occupied by the great public hall, or "Basilica". Think of this as resembling a great church, eighty yards in length and twenty yards broad, and divided, like a church, into three long narrow portions by two rows of richly decorated pillars. At each end,

Seal with Chi-Rho Monogram
Found at Silchester.

a semicircular space, ornamented with many-coloured marbles, was raised above the surrounding floor for the seats of the town officers, the judges, and the magistrates who preserved order and governed the town and district. So magnificent a town-hall and municipal buildings, as we may call them, could not have been erected until Calleva had become an important and wealthy centre.

These were not, however, the only public buildings. Three or more temples ministered to the religious needs of the pagan population. Nor were the Christians unprovided for. In the fourth century they became numerous enough in Calleva to have their own church, and its remains have been found just south-east of the forum. Some distance beyond this church stood the public baths, provided with an elaborate system of heating, and con-

[1] See plan of Cistercian Monastery on p. 140.

taining plunge baths, hot, tepid, and cold baths, dressing-rooms, "sweating chambers", and all that Roman love of luxury and cleanliness could desire. In the south of the town stood what we might call its Grand Hotel—the "hospitium" or inn—with outer and inner court-yard, and row upon row of apartments; with storehouses, corridors, and halls; and with elaborate heating apparatus and baths of its own.

Our picture will not be complete, however, without the private houses. There were not very many, it seems—about a hundred or so. But they were, for the most part, well built, large, and spacious, having their numerous rooms arranged either around a central courtyard, or along one side of a corridor. Just outside each house was a stoke-hole, whence hot air passed from burning charcoal into a hollow chamber beneath the house, known as the "hypocaust". From here it was directed by means of square-shaped "box-pipes" to the winter rooms, to supply the heat that was needed in so change-able a climate. The houses were kept beautifully clean, for their walls were of smooth plaster or stone, and their floors constructed of the beautiful mosaic of which so many remains have been found. The illustration on p. 33 gives a faint idea of the beauty of this mosaic-work. Those who live near Reading should not fail to see the many specimens of mosaic in the Silchester Museum there. The walls also were decorated with a great variety of many-coloured patterns, and of these some traces remain.

Now that we have formed some picture of the town, let us see what the spade has been able to discover for us about the life of the people. Of their houses, their buying and selling, and their luxuries we already know something. Of the ordinary daily life of the town we shall form some idea, perhaps, from the following list of the articles discovered within its walls. Among them are house-fittings such as nails, door-plates, hinges, keys, padlocks, screws, bolts, rivets, bedfasts, window-frames, and curtain-rings. Among the tools are hammers, axes, chisels, knives, clasp-knives (like our modern pocket-knives), files, trowels, pruning-hooks, plough-coulters,

blacksmiths' tongs, horseshoes, tweezers, nail-claws, butchers' choppers, gouges, mowers' anvils, shears, lamp-stands, and even a carpenter's plane ! Other outdoor implements include bucket-handles, cart-tires, and a ladder which may have been used in the orchards in and around the town. Searchers have also found needles, bodkins, brooches, chains, surgical instruments, spoons, sauce-pans, scales, steelyards, candlesticks, dice, counters, and large quantities of pottery. In fact, very few articles of modern utility and convenience are unrepresented in the remains of buried Silchester. Dyeing, and perhaps weaving, were industries carried on in the town, and many of the inhabitants must have been engaged in trading in wheat and timber. At Winchester we know there was a weaving establishment and even at this early period British wool and cloth were famous.

Calleva had to strengthen itself with strong walls, built, very probably, during the troubles of the third century, when Carausius and Allectus aspired to become emperors of Britain. In the fourth century the town declined ; one of its gates was blocked up ; its basilica was rebuilt in a much poorer style ; and its art and ornaments seem to have forgotten the glories of the early days. When the Romans left, after 410, Calleva fell gradually into deserted oblivion, abandoned by the Britons, who turned once more to their old ways.

It is from Silchester that we can get our best idea of Roman Hampshire. But we must not forget that Roman power and Roman customs extended to other parts of the Hampshire-land also. Southwards from Calleva, through the oak forests and over the chalk, ran the road to Venta Belgarum, another country town, perhaps not quite so large as Calleva. Winchester has so long stood over the remains of Venta that little trace of the ancient city can now be found. The Roman town stood mainly to the south of the present High Street, and it is near the Barracks that the chief remains have been discovered. One of these is an inscription set up by a Roman " beneficiary ", a servant sent by the governor of the province on special service. He

is one of the few Roman soldiers of whom any trace exists in Hampshire.

Clausentum and Portchester were not towns, but forts, set up, perhaps, in the third-century days of revolt and

ROMANO-BRITISH MOSAIC PAVEMENT
From a villa discovered at Bramdean in 1823.

piratical attacks. Portchester was a strongly-built camp of masonry. Clausentum seems to have been only a small station, not always occupied.

Dotted over the chalk-lands, especially around Andover, and east of Winchester, were the villas or farms of the

country gentry. Their owners were generally natives, but the land was tilled in Roman fashion by slaves, or by men who were half slaves. The houses were much like those in Calleva, though in some places, such as Castlefield (to the east of Andover), great rectangular houses are found with double rows of pillars, like a rough copy of the Calleva "Basilica". Perhaps a house like this was a great common-dwelling or hall for the labourers on the villa or farm. Or it may have been a "rest-house" for travellers along the Roman highway.

Most of the large "villa" houses had their hypocausts and fine mosaic pavements. At Bramdean a pavement has been found illustrating the days of the week (*eight* in the Roman week). Round a central figure are grouped the deities Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and one which cannot be recognized (see p. 33). Those of you who know French will see at once how the French names of the days of the week (except Sunday) have been derived from these.

Even into these country districts Christianity penetrated. A pewter vessel found at a Weyhill "villa" shows the "chi-rho" mark thus ☧ (the first two letters of the Greek name of Christ), similar to that found on a seal at Calleva (see p. 30). This mark was the accepted symbol of Christianity in the fourth century.

But this comfortable, prosperous, generally peaceful land was doomed. All through the fourth century the hold of the Romans was growing weaker and weaker; more and more the towns decayed, trade languished, and the people sank back into barbarism. And so, when Rome finally turned her back upon Britain, in about 410, all that Rome had left began steadily to disappear. It is only through the long efforts of patient workers with pick and spade that we are at last able to revive a little of that lost Roman Hampshire which has slept for so many centuries beneath our feet.

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CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF JUTE AND SAXON

The history-book will tell you the story of the departure of the Romans from the shores of Britain, and of those foreign attacks upon Rome itself which demanded that every Roman soldier should return to defend the very heart of the Empire. We are not concerned here with that story so much as with the fate of this Hampshire-land of ours when Roman rule came to an end. The final departure of the great rulers did not for a long time make any serious difference. For, long before they left, the wealth, the comfort, and the peace of the British inhabitants had begun to decline. The decay merely went on a little more rapidly after the legions withdrew. Commerce with Gaul still continued, the industries of the towns were still carried on, but with much less vigour, and the people still lived in houses such as they had inhabited in Roman times, only much poorer.

Left to themselves, the Hampshire Britons lost in time the art of orderly government, quarrels broke out among the various groups, old Celtic customs crept back, and the towns—those sure signs of a civilized life—steadily fell into decay. Thus the searchers in the ruins of Silchester have found buildings patched up or only partly finished, and in one place a dark stain of fire left on a mosaic pavement shows, perhaps, where wayfarers or wandering herdsmen encamped for the night in a ruined house of the almost deserted city. Even the villas in the country seem to have been gradually abandoned. Hampshire was too far south to be attacked by the Picts; and, as we shall see presently, it was long before it had to face any serious attacks from the Saxons, who soon seized on other parts of England. Town and village and country estate—Silchester, Winchester, and the great farms on the chalk Downs—gradually slipped into a condition of neglect and decay.

until the land was little better than it was when the Romans first took it.

But, you will say, did not the Saxons come and attack Hampshire very soon after the Romans left? Did not Winchester, and most likely Silchester, too, fall before sword and fire brought by these fierce enemies from overseas?

Now it is true that this has often been said. Most of the stories told of Hampshire in those dark and mysterious days that followed the Roman occupation, say how the Saxon chieftains Cerdic and Cynric, with their followers, landed on the shore of Southampton Water, and how they forced the Britons westward through the New Forest until a terrible battle at Charford, near Salisbury, finally drove the defenders beyond the Avon. The story then goes on to say how Cerdic and Cynric turned to storm and destroy Winchester, and how, pushing northwards, they and their followers succeeded at last in conquering all of what is now Hampshire and part of Berkshire. These conquests, we are told, were the foundation of the great kingdom of Wessex.

This is the story that has so often been told, but, possibly, it is not the true story. You must remember that of many events in this early Anglo-Saxon history we are still very uncertain, and so in this chapter we will try to understand why there is reason to think that the story of the coming of the Saxons to Hampshire ought to be told very differently. Then we can decide for ourselves which is the truer account. By doing that, we shall at least come to understand how uncertain some things are, even in English history, and how necessary it is to try to find out the truth for ourselves.

In the time of the Romans the population of Hampshire was thickly spread over the uplands of the centre and north. But the southern portion, especially that part of it which borders on Southampton Water, was still a wild and barren waste. Over the higher tracts of this southern part stretched stony, cheerless heaths, while in the valleys dense woods of oak and wide peaty swamps presented almost impassable barriers to all except those

who travelled by means of the rivers, Itchen, or Hamble, or Meon. Even the Romans had left the district almost untouched except for the outposts (as they were then) of Clausentum and Portchester. Consequently, even while Rome still held sway in the land, parties of Jutes—the near kinsmen of Saxons and Angles—were able to make settlements in lonely spots along the rivers, especially along the Meon and Hamble. Pushing far up the Meon Valley, they came at last to the chalk downs near Droxford, and there can be no doubt that the villages of Droxford and Corhampton, of Meonstoke and Warnford, began as early settlements in this country of the "Meonwara"—the men of Meon. The great earth fortress on Old Winchester Hill would serve them as a watchtower and a defence. After the Romans left, the Jutish settlers came in still greater numbers, some to their brethren in the Meon Valley, some to the northern part of the Isle of Wight, while others, perhaps, found a home on the western shore of Southampton Water. They had at first no hard fighting to go through before they could settle, for they chose generally retired and unoccupied spots in which to make their new homes. Quite two hundred years afterwards these southern parts were still known as the lands of the Jutes. Burying-grounds of Jutish settlers have been found on the Downs—Arreton, Chessell, and Shalcombe, in the Isle of Wight. In the Meon Valley, workmen making the new railway discovered in 1900 another large Jutish cemetery at Droxford. The brooches, the ornaments, the spearheads, and other articles found in these burial-grounds are very much like those of Kent, and we have reason to believe that the people of Kent were Jutes.

But, you may say, this coming of the Jutes was only a slow settlement in the unoccupied south. Did not their kinsmen the Saxons come in great hosts under Cerdic to attack and fiercely slay or drive out the Britons of the centre? If they did their work has left no trace. In Sussex charred remains still tell of the fierce onslaught of the terrible enemy from the sea. In Berkshire, on our northern border, burnt ruins, extending sometimes

over many acres, show all too plainly the destroying hand of the invader. But Hampshire can show no such sign —no charred remains, no Saxon weapons, no traces of such calamity and ruin. Winchester and Silchester fell slowly into decay, and though the great hills and the dense woods of the north, and the tangled forest of the south still kept out the invader, the Hampshire land must have become weak, and poor, and harassed. When the Saxons did make their way in, about the year 600, they took possession of the land with but little difficulty, assisted, possibly, by their Jutish kinsmen in the south.

How *did* the Saxons—those who afterwards became the West Saxons—make their way in? To find an answer let us turn to the ancient book of records that tells us so much about this period of our history —the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This Chronicle is a long record of the doings of the Saxon Kings—chiefly the kings of Wessex—and is very much like those "Chronicles" of the Israelitish kings that you can find in the Old Testament. Now the very oldest part of this Chronicle, although it tells us much about the invasions of the Saxons, near the year 500, was not drawn up until more than two hundred years after the invasions took place. The monks or scribes who first drew it up had therefore to rely on hearsay or tradition, or old tales, for their account of the early attacks. In 495, they say:

"Two princes, Cerdic and Cynric his son, came to Britain with five ships, arriving at a place called Cerdicesora, and the same day they fought against the Welsh" (i.e. Britons). Later on, the Chronicle tells us, "Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king." And in 519, "Cerdic and Cynric began to reign; and the same year they fought against the Britons at a place which is now called Cerdicesford."

Now I think that here the Chronicler is confusing the coming of the *Jutes*—when the Jutes began to come in large and threatening numbers—with the coming of the Saxons. If the Saxons had invaded Hampshire from the south, their kingdom ought to have become the kingdom of the *South*-Saxons, not of the West-Saxons.

It is much more likely that the true Saxon people first invaded our county from the north-east, perhaps a little before the year 600. Bodies of Saxon invaders spread westwards from the settlements near the mouth of the Thames. In 571—so the Chronicle tells us—they were capturing towns on, or near the Upper Thames—Aylesbury, Eynsham (near Oxford), and Benson (near Wallingford). Six years later they were at Gloucester, taking that town as well as Bath and Cirencester. But the Britons still held on to the land west of Hampshire, and so it is probable that the Saxons made their entry from the direction of Reading southwards. Steadily spreading themselves over the whole surface they at last occupied Winchester (mentioned in the Chronicle for the first time in 643). A royal palace, a Saxon monastery and cathedral, and many houses great and small soon rose within the ruins of the ancient Roman walls, and Winchester began to prepare herself for the great part she was to play as the capital, first of Wessex then of all England. Hampshire thus became in the course of time the heart of the Wessex kingdom. But it was in the valley of the Upper Thames, above Reading, that the kingdom had its early beginnings. As we shall see in the next chapter, the founders of Wessex, when they became Christians, planted the seat of their first bishop not at Winchester, but at Dorchester-on-Thames, a few miles south-east of Oxford.

Now we have heard the two stories. The one, that Cerdic and his followers attacked Hampshire from the south, conquered it, and built out from their Hampshire centre the Wessex kingdom. The other, that the Saxons, an offshoot perhaps of the Saxons in the east, gradually conquered the valley of the Upper Thames, then spread slowly southwards, entered Hampshire in the north-east, spread over the county, and occupied it probably without any severe struggle.

Of the two stories we shall most probably find that the second one agrees more fully with all the facts at present known about our early history.

CHAPTER V

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH

The Hampshire land had now become Saxon—we might even say "English"—though some time had still to elapse before the new name of "Hamtunscire" was used. The Saxon settlement of our county, when it did come, must have been very thorough. For the Saxon village names we find throughout the county—the "-stokes", the "-hams", the "-tons", the "-leighs", and the "-fords"—show how completely the old British inhabitants were dispossessed. It is unlikely, however, that the conquered Britons were all driven out or put to death. Many of them, as it appears from our records, must have become the serfs or the servants of their conquerors.

We do not know the exact manner in which the land was parcelled out among the conquerors. Much of the land the kings kept for themselves; Kingsclere and Andover, for example, belonged to the kings of Wessex at a very early period. Some would be given in reward to the warriors who had fought to gain the prize, while other parts were set aside to be used for carving out fresh prizes later on.

A great noble or an important "thane" (a kind of knight) would have several estates, and would move with all his household from one estate to another, so that each one might perform the duty imposed on it of paying the lord in actual produce of corn and flesh his "ferm" or supply. Most of the dwellers on each estate were "churls", called "villeins" at a later date by the Normans. The "churls" were the cultivators of the land. Not only did they work on their own holdings—strips of land in the common fields of the estate—but they had to cultivate the lands of the lord also. The kind of village life which is described more fully in Chapter XI thus existed in Hampshire in a ruder form

very early in our history. One of the laws of Ine, a king of Wessex who reigned before the year 700, shows this quite clearly. This law runs :

" If churls have common meadow divided into strips to fence, and some have fenced their strip, some have not, and stray cattle eat their common acres or grass, let those go who own the gap, and compensate the others who have fenced their strip."

We hear more about the churls 300 years after the time of King Ine, in a dialogue written by a famous monk of Winchester named Ælfric. In this dialogue we are to suppose that a churl is being questioned about his labour, thus :

" What sayest thou, ploughman ? How dost thou do thy work ? "

" Oh, my lord, hard do I work. I go out at daybreak, driving the oxen to field, and I yoke them to the plough. Nor is it ever so hard winter that I dare loiter at home, for fear of my lord ; but the oxen yoked, and the ploughshare and coulter fastened to the plough, every day must I plough a full acre or more."

" Hast thou any comrade ? "

" I have a boy driving the oxen with an iron goad, who also is hoarse with cold and shouting."

" What more dost thou in the day ? "

" Verily then I do more, I must fill the bin of the oxen with hay, and water them and carry out the dung. Ha ! ha ! hard work it is, hard work it is ! because I am not free."

As this was written by a monk of Winchester we can feel sure that those whom he describes are Hampshire churls, whose hard lot had changed but little for many generations.

Now, while we picture the Hampshire land being settled in this way, let us remember that the Saxon settlers were still heathen. St. Augustine and his monks who reached Kent in 597 did not touch Wessex. It was not until the year 634 that Birinus, the first missionary, " came into Britain by the advice of Pope Honorius ; having promised

in his presence that he would sow the seed of the holy faith in the inner parts beyond the dominions of the English, where no other teacher had been before him ". This we are told by the Venerable Bede in his " History ", and he goes on to say that Birinus, finding the West-Saxons of Hampshire still heathen, determined to stay and convert them instead of passing beyond. So successful was he that in the next year King Cynegils was baptized at Dorchester-on-Thames, where Birinus had set up his " bishopstool ", and eight years afterwards Cynegils' son " commanded the old church at Winchester to be built in the name of St. Peter ". So says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but, though the church was certainly built, no trace of this early Saxon cathedral is now to be found. (It is called the " old church " because, when the Chronicle was being written a new one had taken its place.).

But Birinus was not alone in the good work. Even after the Saxons had become Christians, the Jutes of the Meon Valley were still heathen. Very probably they did not yet form a part of the kingdom of Wessex. These, and their brethren in the Isle of Wight seem to have been converted through the labours of Bishop Wilfred, who, driven from his distant see at York, had come south to convert the Saxons of Sussex, and, with them, the Meon Jutes. In the wall of the ancient church at Warnford, in the Meon Valley, is a stone bearing an inscription which states the tradition that Wilfred was the first founder of a church on that spot. But the stone itself was placed there 500 years after Wilfred's time.

All Hampshire was Christian—at least in name—before the year 700, and as Hampshire and not Berkshire became more and more the centre of the kingdom of Wessex, the " bishopstool " was removed from Dorchester and planted at Winchester in 676 by Bishop Hedda. But the work of preaching had still to go on. These early bishops were not great lords like those of the Middle Ages. They were rather missionaries, who settled in a favourable spot, such as Winchester, and gathered round them bands of priests and preachers. Each bishop lived with his priests in a kind of monastery. Wilfred's church at Warnford

St. Swithun
From the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (see p. 60).

may have been the centre of a little Christian colony like this. Another was planted at Nursling, for from the monastery there St. Boniface went forth to preach the Gospel to the pagans of Germany.

From these centres priests set out and passed from village to village, preaching usually in the open air at the village cross, for as yet there were very few churches. Gradually, very gradually, as the people settled down to the Christian faith, the boundaries of parishes were marked out, churches were built, and nearly every village had its own priest. But this division into parishes was not complete until long after the days of Birinus's preaching. Our oldest Saxon churches in Hampshire were built only a few years before the Norman Conquest.

Thus, the early work of the Church in Hampshire centred almost entirely in the bishop of Winchester—"my bishop," as King Ine calls him in his "Laws". These "Laws", of which we have already heard, help us to realize how greatly the kings were assisted by the educated men of the Church in civilizing and governing a rude and rough people. For Ine mentions "Hedda, my bishop" (Winchester), and "Erconwald, my bishop" (Sherborne), and "a large assembly of God's servants", as being among those whose counsel had helped him, "so that just law and just kingly dooms might be settled and established throughout our folk."

Wessex grew in wealth and strength, so that Egbert of Wessex, soon after the year 800, became supreme lord over all the remaining English kingdoms. Consequently the bishops of Winchester gained in power and influence. During the reign of Egbert's son Ethelwulf, the bishop was the good St. Swithun, whose name we still connect with the "apple-christening" of July 15. "St. Swithun his bishopric to all goodness drew," says an old song. Perhaps it was through Swithun's influence that King Ethelwulf "booked the tenth part of his lands to God's praise and his own eternal welfare". That is, the king granted by means of a "book" or charter the tenth part of his lands to the service of the Church. Some of the new wealth Swithun used for building churches and

repairing ruined ones in his diocese. Winchester itself benefited by the new stone bridge which he caused to be built over the Itchen. A " treasury of virtue " as the Chronicler calls him, so mild and humble that he is said to have travelled by night in order to avoid the pomp and ceremony of the daytime, St. Swithun was not only one of the makers of the Church in Hampshire ; he was a pillar of the State too. For the kings, Ethelwulf and Ethelbald, in whose reigns he lived, needed his counsel and advice in those fierce struggles with the Danes of which we shall hear in the next chapter. St. Swithun, at his own request, was buried in the cathedral yard, and when, on July 15, a hundred years afterwards, his bones were removed into the cathedral, a terrible thunderstorm occurred, giving rise to the superstition which we always connect with that day. So honoured was he, that after his death the cathedral monastery was called by his name. The churches of Headbourne Worthy and Nateley Scures are dedicated to him.

But before Egbert raised Wessex to a position of supremacy the kingdom had already been divided into " shires ". " Hamtunscire " is mentioned in the Chronicle for the first time under the date 755. In that year the unhappy Sigebert, king of Wessex, was deprived by the Witan of all his dominions except " Hamtunscire ". So we shall not be far wrong if we say that Hampshire, as a county, was in existence by the year 750.

Let us now see how Hampshire fared during the later period of Saxon history; the period of Danish attacks, of Danish kings, and, at the close, of growing Norman influence.

HAMPSHIRE AND WESSEX

CHAPTER VI

A THOUSAND YEARS AGO. HAMPSHIRE THE ROYAL COUNTY

THERE are many spots in Hampshire where we are made to feel a strong glow of pride in our English race. But never could we have that feeling in such strength as when we stand before the statue of King Alfred at Winchester and recall the perfect character and the glorious achievements of the only English king whom all alike have agreed to call "Great". The silent figure of the great ruler, still keeping watch as it were over the ancient city, should remind us of the days when Winchester was the royal capital and Hampshire the royal county. A Berkshire man by birth, Alfred can, nevertheless, be rightly claimed as a Hampshire man by adoption. For in this county he lived most of his life, here most of his work was done, here he died, and left Hampshire rich in memories of him.

But, in order to understand how our county became for a time the home of the English kings, we must go back a little and take up its story from the time when the name of Hamtunscire first appeared (see Chapter V).

For some years after the unhappy Sigebert lost his throne Wessex was weakened by strife and intrigue in the royal house and among the nobility. It was an exiled son of one of the weak and shadowy kings of this period who was the means of raising Wessex to a position of complete and final supremacy among the Saxon kingdoms. Returning from the court of the great Emperor Charlemagne in the year 800, the young Egbert,

aided by the loyal West-Saxons of Hampshire and Wiltshire, defeated the Gloucestershire opponents of his claims, and thus made himself master of all Wessex. Soon he was able to look beyond Wessex for further conquests. Pushing westwards, he drove the West-Welsh —the Britons who still inhabited Devon and Cornwall— into the remoter parts of the latter county. Soon after, the king of Kent was fleeing across the Thames before the armies of Egbert, and so in 823 (says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) "the men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South-Saxons and the East-Saxons submitted to him". Four years later Mercia and Northumbria fell before him, and from the Tweed to the English Channel, from the Severn to the North Sea, no one was now found to dispute his sway.

Wessex had triumphed, and the "Wessex" that won the triumph was really the three wealthy and closely united counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. Of these three, the ever-faithful one, the one that had always been most loyal to its West-Saxon allegiance, was Hampshire, and now Hampshire was to be rewarded in becoming and remaining for more than two centuries the royal county of England.

Yet, almost before the prize was won, Egbert had to fight for it against a new enemy, more formidable than the degenerate kings of Mercia and Northumbria. As far back as the year 787, so the Chronicle tells us, "ships of Northmen" had reached our coasts (probably the coast of Dorset), and Egbert had barely secured his hold over all England when he had to hurry westwards to protect his dominions from a great combined attack by the Northmen and the West-Welsh. Wessex was soon to bear the brunt of the fighting, and in the course of time Wessex was to prove the saviour of England.

Ethelwulf, Egbert's son, ascended the throne in 836. Very soon after, he too had to fight for his kingdom against the invaders. This time they aimed at the very heart of his dominions. Thirty-five ships came up Southampton Water, and their warriors would, doubtless, have reached Winchester had not Wulfherd the "Ealdor-

man " (or Earl) of Hampshire, met them at Southampton, " and there made great slaughter, and there got the victory ". Less fortunate were the men of Dorset at Portland, for a stiff fight resulted in their defeat and the death of their " Ealdorman ".

Some years passed before the Northmen again attempted a direct attack on the heart of Wessex. In 860, however, when Ethelbert was king, the enemy succeeded in reaching Winchester. The storming of the city by the Danes must have been a terrible experience, for even at that early date it was a place of much wealth and prosperity. That the Danes ever reached it at all could only have been due to the sudden character of their descents, and the swiftness of their movements on land. But the insult was avenged, for the " fyrds " of Hampshire and Berkshire united to rout the invaders.

For another ten years after this defeat, Hampshire, the citadel of England, was left in comparative peace, while the enemy were carving out kingdoms, destroying minsters, and spreading death and devastation in Northumbria and East Anglia. The year 871, however, saw them at Reading, preparing to set out on that very same line of attack, in the direction of Basingstoke, by which the Saxons themselves had advanced into Hampshire three hundred years before. The men of Hampshire and Berkshire were called upon for a mighty effort. It was clear that they had to face now, not a mere pirate raid, but a combined attack like those which had already brought the north and east to submission. The enemy had to be kept out of this county at all costs, and so the year 871 was a year of stern and ceaseless warfare. Fighting side by side with King Ethelred was his young brother Alfred, already, though only twenty-one, foremost in the defence of his people who now—

> Struck for their hoards and their hearths, and their homes.

Battle after battle was fought in Berkshire, some along the line where the railway now runs from Reading to Basingstoke, some along the line now taken by the

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railway from Didcot to Newbury. Both these railways, as you may see from the map, run along natural lines of communication, and these lines of advance the West-Saxons had to defend. Little by little the Saxons fell back to defend their capital, and at Basing, where stood most likely a Saxon village and fortress, a battle was fought and won by the enemy. Yet so active were the Saxons, in spite of defeats, that the Danes could make but little headway, and by the end of the year they were so exhausted that they were compelled to make a truce. Once more the men of Hampshire had proved themselves more than a match for the invader.

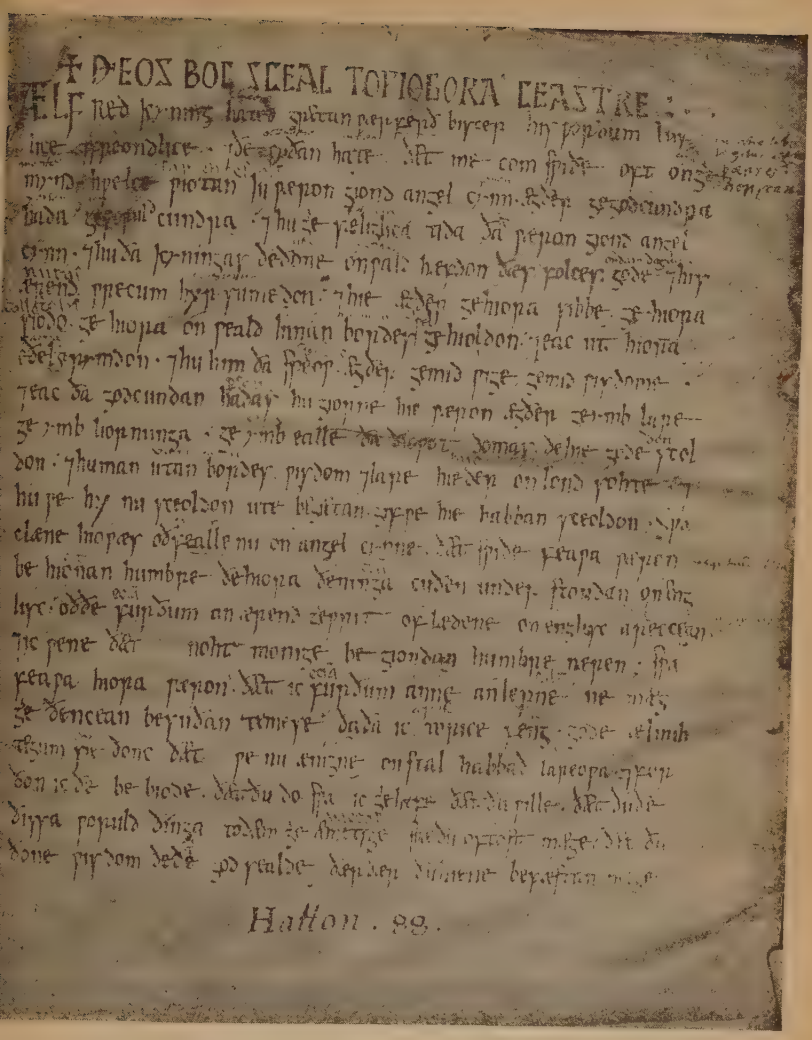
In the midst of this terrible year of conflict Alfred was called upon to take his brother's place as king. King, however, only of Wessex, for the rest of the land was in Danish hands. Although the continued warfare with the determined invaders did not touch our county, the Hampshire veterans still had their share in the fighting. At Ethandune, that crowning victory of 878, Alfred had with him "that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea" (i.e. the men of the mainland).

For fifteen years after Ethandune the land had peace, while the tide of Danish invasion rolled away towards France and Germany, and the Danes of East Anglia were settling down under their own "Dane Law". But in 893 the storm broke with greater violence than ever. The army from the Continent united with the Danes of East Anglia in another great attack, and four more years of hard fighting followed. The land-strife raged far away from Hampshire, around London and in East Anglia. In the south the Danes were met on their own element, the sea, for Alfred had now carried out his plan of building ships to protect his coasts. The ships were manned not by natives of Hampshire, but by seafaring Frisians who came from what is now Holland. A fight took place in Southampton Water, probably in the Hamble Estuary. Two ships of the Danes ran aground. Their crews—captured and sent to Winchester—were promptly hanged by the king's orders. A relic of this fight existed a few years ago in the shape of a

Danish ship, 130 feet long, embedded in the mud of Hamble Creek, near Swanwick. The name "Swanwick" itself is very likely Danish.

The year 897 saw the last of Alfred's battles, and it is now time for us to leave the struggle with the Danes for awhile, and turn to consider the other great works of Alfred in Hampshire, and especially in Winchester.

The period when Alfred ascended the throne was, as we have seen, one of great peril for Hampshire and for England. The king's great achievement was not only that he averted this great peril, but that he strengthened his kingdom to resist any attack in future. He himself has said that "the greed and grandeur of this temporal power have never pleased me much, nor have I longed overmuch for this earthly kingdom"; yet he earnestly desired that he "might virtuously and fittingly control the power entrusted to him". We cannot here follow out the whole story of Alfred's unceasing labours. It is fully set out in the ordinary history-books. But that Winchester was the centre of all this great work we cannot doubt, in spite of the fact that at the present day it would be difficult to find in that city a single direct trace of the great king. The royal palace seems to have stood in the High Street, just to the west of the Minster, and the much stronger palace of Wolvesey may also have been in existence. To Winchester came ealdormen and thanes, bishops and priests, travellers and ambassadors; some to attend the meetings of the Witan called to discuss the king's new code of "dooms", to assist in reorganizing the fyrd, or to act as witnesses to the grants of land and property which the king was making to assist the work of the Church; others to bring information of spiritual and missionary work going on in remote parts of Alfred's dominions. Others, again, from far-distant Rome or from the Continental states—Flanders, Germany, and the States of France—kept the king in touch with the outside world, and brought him precious books and manuscripts to assist him in his own lifelong studies. Scribes by the score were at work copying famous writings, which the king himself translated



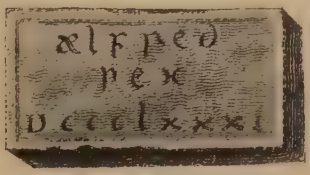
Page of King Alfred's Translation of Gregory' "Pastoral Care". *From the Bodleian Library.*

This page—probably in Alfred's own handwriting—is part of the preface to the copy which was sent to Worcester.

into Anglo-Saxon, so that copies might be sent to distant churches and monasteries to aid the great work of instructing the people. Such a book was the *Pastoral Care* of the great Pope Gregory, a manual of instruction for priests, of which three copies made at Winchester exist to this day (see p. 51). There was no end to the king's activities for his people's good, and the Hampshire capital must have been then like a lesser Rome, a city of ceaseless life and activity, and imperial energy. This must have been the period when Southampton rose into prominence as the port of the capital. It was by way of Southampton, let us remember, that the Danes attacked, and friend and foe alike must have used its convenient harbour on their way towards Winchester. Off Southampton, no doubt, would lie for a time the storm-beaten vessels of Ohthere the Norwegian—"Ohthere, the old sea-captain, Who dwelt in Halgoland,"—and Wulfstan the Dane, while their dauntless commanders proceeded to Winchester to tell thrilling stories of travel and adventure to the eager Alfred. Ohthere had to tell of a far northern voyage to the White Sea, and Wulfstan of his discoveries along the Baltic coasts. Their stories, written down by the king's own hand, found a place in a work on Geography which he was then translating.

But of all the mighty works that Winchester saw in Alfred's day none has proved to be of such lasting and priceless value as the great record of the Saxon people which he caused to be made and kept at Winchester. This record we have mentioned several times already under the title of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Ancient traditions of the past handed on from generation to generation, together with a few fragments, perhaps, of written history, were collected into one document by the king's command. Not only did the king continue with his own hand the story of his kingdom in his own lifetime, but he caused copies of the Chronicle to be made and sent to distant monasteries, so that records might be kept in all parts of the kingdom. Famous copies of the Chronicle were long kept at Peterborough and Worcester, the Peterborough Chronicle not coming to an end until the reign of Stephen.

The king's enthusiasm for education was closely connected with his earnest desire for the religious welfare of his people. His was the reign in which began the great religious revival that we shall hear about in the next chapter. In Winchester he founded the Nunnery of St. Mary or "Nunnaminster" on the site now occupied by the "Abbey" gardens. Moreover, like David of old, he left provision for the building of a great religious house after his death—the "New Minster" which his son Edward established on the land between the Old Minster (the present Cathedral) and the High Street. Hither the bones of the great ruler were brought from St. Swithun's (the Old Minster), for, if we are to believe an ancient legend, the monks of St. Swithun's were troubled with the restless ghost of the dead king.



THE "ÆLFRED" STONE

When New Minster was transferred to Hyde Mead and became Hyde Abbey (in Henry I's reign), the remains of Alfred were solemnly transferred too. The abbey was demolished in the time of Henry VIII, but the remains were not finally scattered until 1786 when, in order to build a county gaol, the whole site was cleared with all its treasures. Only a single stone inscribed with the one word "ÆLFRED" now remains as a trace of the great king, and that far away in Cumberland, whither it was carried by an officer serving in Winchester when the gaol was built. Thus was the last resting-place of our noblest Englishman desecrated to make room for felons, rogues, and vagabonds! The noble statue at Winchester, fine as it is, is poor compensation for our loss.

For nearly fifty years after Alfred's death we hear little of Hampshire. Edward the Elder, Alfred's son

and successor, had to face a revolt in Hampshire before he could secure his throne. Ethelwold, his cousin, seized the fortress of Twineham (Christchurch) and that of Wimborne, and tried unsuccessfully to make headway against the king. We do not know whether the " Castle " at Twineham that is here mentioned was the great earthwork on Hengistbury Head, or whether it was a fort on the site of the present castle.

The greater part of Edward's reign was spent in subduing the Danes of the east and centre of England. His successor, Athelstan, in 925 was crowned, not at Winchester, but at Kingston-on-Thames, and so was almost every Saxon king after him. It is true that Winchester was not sufficiently central, but a more important reason for the change was that Kingston lay near to London. Edward and Athelstan and their successors, now that the Danes of the east and midlands had been conquered, were kings of England in a more real and true sense than any earlier king had been. Wessex was gradually disappearing in the larger unity—England.

We hear little of Athelstan in connexion with Hampshire. He was a good friend to the Church, especially in his frequent gifts of much-venerated relics. The famous " Song of Brunanburh ", celebrating Athelstan's great victory over Scot and Dane, was written by a Wessex man (perhaps a native of Winchester), and inserted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The poet's Wessex pride rings out in the lines—

> We the West-Saxons
> Long as the daylight
> Lasted, in companies
> Troubled the track of the host that we hated,
> Grimly with swords that were sharp from the grindstone
> Fiercely we hack'd at the flyers before us.

Clearly, the great days of Wessex and of Hampshire were not yet over. Of the greatness that was still to come, and of the sad decline that followed it the next chapter will have to tell.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST CENTURY OF SAXON HAMPSHIRE—MAGNIFICENT YET DECLINING

In the person of Alfred, the Saxon character had reached its highest perfection. It was his work in the Church and in the State, in the Council chamber and in the field, which opened the way for the glories of the tenth century, in every way the greatest period of Saxon history. The author of the "Song of Brunanburh" must have had Alfred, and the men of Alfred's day, in his mind when he said of Athelstan's warriors that—

> Theirs was a greatness
> Got from their grandsires.

Indeed, we can see the results of Alfred's work all through the century that followed his death, so lasting are the good deeds of a great man. As we shall see, Hampshire had a full share in the events and achievements which make this period of Saxon history so memorable. In this chapter let us carry on the story of Hampshire from the year 958, when Edgar the Peaceful became king, to the fatal year 1066, when the Saxon power fell before William the Norman.

The little-known kings whose reigns fill the period from Athelstan's death in 940 to Edgar's accession in 958 have left no memories worth mentioning in Hampshire. But Edgar's reign, lasting until 975, was full of events closely connected with our county, and above all with Winchester, the capital. Edgar, "the darling of the Angles", "Augustan Emperor of all Albion", as he was proudly called, was the first Saxon king whose sway over what is now modern England was quite undisputed. The stories of his success in forcing Scotland and Wales to keep the peace, and of the six under-kings who rowed his barge along the Dee at Chester are to be found in every history-book.

Edgar was frequently at Winchester, and, like Athelstan and other kings of this period, he was a generous friend to the New Minster. An old document setting forth the principles on which the life of the monastery was based has an illuminated page showing the king adoring our Lord in the presence of the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, the patrons of the monastery.

But it was at the hunting seat of Andover, within reach of the beasts of chase in Harewood Forest, that Edgar found his chief delights. Many years afterwards minstrels still sang of the merry doings at Andover of the pleasure-loving king.

It was in Harewood Forest, we are told, that the king slew with his own hand the false Ethelwold, Ealdorman of Hampshire. Sent by the king to bring back the fair Elfrida from Devonshire, Ethelwold, it is said, deceived the king by representing her to be plain and ugly, so that he might marry her himself. The king, on visiting Ethelwold soon after, discovered the deceit; for Elfrida, in spite of her husband's orders to dress as meanly as possible, did all she could to fascinate the king. Her success was such that the impulsive Edgar slew her husband and made her his own wife. This Elfrida, as base as she was beautiful, was accused of slaying her own stepson Edward the Martyr, and the nunnery at Wherwell was founded by her, we are told, in penitence for her crimes.

But this story of Edgar's crime has been shown to be quite untrue, and it is not certain that Elfrida, either, was guilty of the crime attributed to her. The chief accusation made against Edgar seems to have been that—

> The evil customs of strange folk he loved,
> And heathen manners unto this our land
> Too fast he brought.

This complaint probably means no more than that Edgar was more cultured and more ready to learn from strangers than his people were.

Trade and industry flourished in Hampshire in Edgar's day. Winchester was a centre of industry,

and Southampton a place of trade. One of Edgar's laws runs—

"And let one money pass throughout the king's dominions, and that let no man refuse; and let one measure and one weight pass, such as is observed at London and Winchester."

The Hampshire capital must have been a trade centre of much importance, otherwise it would not have been coupled with London as a place that should set the standard in weights and measures for the whole kingdom. Long after Edgar's day trade was hindered by the fact that each important town had its own weights and measures, and struck its own coins. Southampton and Winchester each had its own "moneyers" from very early times. Winchester had six, Southampton two (London had eight). So difficult was it, in spite of Edgar's law, to maintain the quality of the coinage, that for many years great severity was necessary. Thus Henry I, in 1124, summoned all the "moneyers" in the kingdom to Winchester bringing their coins with them. All whose coins were base lost not only their money but their right hands as well. The Winchester "moneyers" alone escaped punishment.

But it was not the revival in trade alone that marked the reign of Edgar. A much greater revival took place in the life and work of the Church, and this revival has left so many traces in Hampshire that we must spend a little time in understanding how it came about and what results it produced.

In Chapter V it was explained how the early Christian missionaries like Birinus and Wilfred gathered round themselves little colonies of priests. As the land settled down to Christianity these colonies were still maintained, and grew into communities of clergy or "canons" living a common life in the neighbourhood of their church. Such a community was attached to the church at Winchester. Although not strictly a monastery it was called a "monasterium", and this word, gradually changed to "minster", came in time

to mean a church of any kind. While there was still missionary work to do the communities were full of life and vigour. But before Alfred's time the canons had ceased to do much missionary work, and, in the words of an old Chronicler, "They left to substitutes the duty of attendance in the choir and the ministry of the altar, and, often absenting themselves for seven years from the sight of the Church (not to say, of God), they spent where and as they thought proper, whatever they received from the church revenues." Alfred tried to remedy some of these evils by awakening a desire among the clergy for piety and learning, and he and his son Edward hoped to set a better standard of religious life in their great foundation of New Minster. Meanwhile, events happening on the Continent were preparing the way for a great reform. In the first place, the power of Rome was growing, was becoming more widely exerted, and was making itself felt in better organization and order even in countries far from Rome. Alfred himself had been taken to Rome by his father Ethelwulf, and the Saxon people had begun to pay those offerings to Rome which we still call "Peter's Pence". In the second place, a number of great churchmen were striving to revive a stricter monastic life, a stricter observance of the "Rule" or mode of life drawn up long before by St. Benedict. One of the earliest reformers of monasteries was the great Dunstan, scholar and saint; the adviser of kings for nearly forty years (about 950–88), and Archbishop of Canterbury for more than twenty years. Dunstan in his youth spent some years at Winchester. But the great reforming spirit in our county, who did more even than Dunstan for the cause of strict piety and order was the strong and masterful Ethelwold, "father of monks", described by one of his own monks as "a prelate whom the Lord had caused to be head of the Church of Winchester, truly understanding how to preserve the fleecy lambs of Christ from the malignant arts of Satan". In 963 Edgar called him from the post of Abbot of Abingdon to become Bishop of Winchester, and at Winchester he determined to spread much more widely the great reform which he had

already introduced at Abingdon. So successful was he that the monastic chroniclers of later days always regarded him as the real founder of English monasteries. One of them, William of Malmesbury, says of him, "One did not know what to praise most in him; his desire for holiness, his constancy in teaching, his devotion in preaching, or his industry in building."

Ethelwold began his work with his own canons at Winchester. Seated on his bishop's throne, so runs the story, he caused a number of monks' robes to be brought

Drawing from a Page of Ethelwold's Benedictional
Probably representing the Tower and Bells of Ethelwold's new Cathedral.

into the choir before him, and ordered the canons to take them up, and adopt the strict monastic rule, or begone. Only three would dare to face the life of stern devotion which he demanded; the rest were driven out and their places taken by monks from Ethelwold's own Abingdon. Having attained his purpose at Winchester, he sought, with the king's support, to spread the reform far and wide. The great nunneries of Romsey and Wherwell came under his influence. Then, empowered by the king to restore the monasteries of the East, still lying desolate in the ruin brought by the Danes, he directed

his energy towards the re-establishment of abbeys as far away as those of Ely and Peterborough.

But the centre of all his work was Winchester. Having established the monks he turned to the rebuilding of the Church, replacing the old cathedral of wood, by a new and far more magnificent church of stone. Beneath the choir of Winchester Cathedral may still be seen the great arches which formed part of Ethelwold's building. They are similar to that shown on p. 62, but are much more heavy and strong. So many were its passages, so numerous its chapels, so intricate its columns, that a man might easily be lost in it, if we are to believe the poet who sang its praises. Within it was the mighty organ, "whose iron voice assaults the ears and drives out every sound." Over all rose the great tower with its four bells, and its lofty gilt weathercock, the emblem of watchfulness, "lording it over the city" (see p. 59).

Within the monastery attached to the great church all was energy and life. Not only were the monks strictly attentive to the constant round of services, but each seems to have had some special work to do. Godeman produced beautiful service-books with letters in blue and red and gold, drawing and painting in these books pictures of bishops, saints, and events of Christ's life. The illustrations on pages 43 and 59 are taken from the magnificent "Benedictional" or "Book of Blessings" which Godeman drew up for Ethelwold's use. (You must understand that the original drawing was beautifully coloured in blue and red, and with gold that was literally laid on.) A glance at these pictures will at once show that the Saxon period was not the age of barbarism it is often thought to have been.

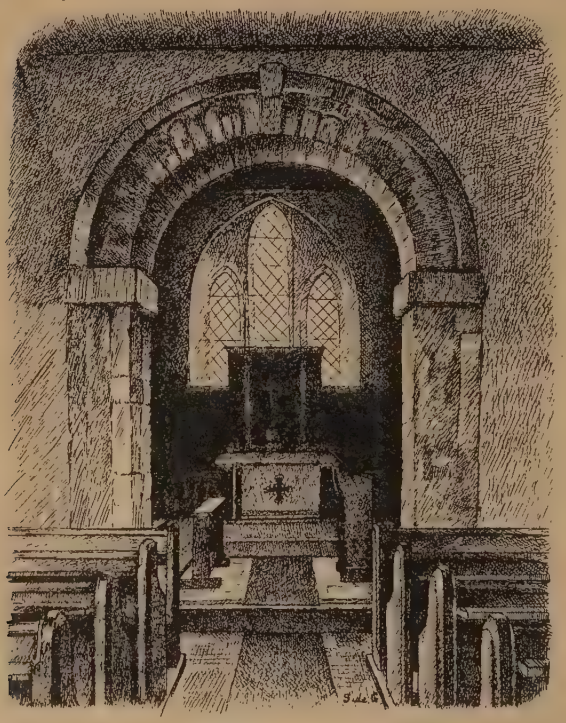
In another place Wulfstan was writing his Latin poems telling of the great works of Ethelwold and the glories of the new cathedral. Another monk, Ethelred, was hard at work on a book of music for the great organ, a book which exists to this day in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Indeed our great libraries contain many examples of the work done at Winchester at this time.

But greatest, and most hard-working perhaps, of

all Ethelwold's monks was Elfric. Unknown as his very name is to many, he was nevertheless the most diligent and fruitful author of Anglo-Saxon times. Like Alfred he used his talents to spread religion and religious knowledge among the masses of the people. Brought up from his youth in the monastery at Winchester under the eye of Ethelwold, he turned his attention quite early to the writing of sermons and homilies of a straightforward and simple kind, to be used by the priests in the instruction of their flocks. To these he added at a later date a "Life of St. Swithun", "Lives of the Saints", free translations of parts of the Old Testament, and stories from the New, all in homely Anglo-Saxon for popular use. But he did not forget the needs of higher education, for we still have copies of a Latin Grammar and a "Vocabulary" (or Dictionary) written by him for the use of boys in the monastery school so that they might learn to read the Latin "Rule", the Latin Bible, and the Latin Service-books. Towards the end of his life Elfric became Abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford, and so the influence of Winchester was established in yet another quarter. Ethelwold, before his death in 984, saw that his great aim was bound to triumph. Hampshire people may feel proud at the thought that so great a religious revival, doing much good at the time, owed more to Winchester than to any other place. Whatever may have been the condition of the monasteries in Henry VIII's day, in Ethelwold's day they were a great power for good among an ignorant people, and Winchester, let us remember, set the pattern. Canute, thirty years later, continued and strengthened the work begun in Edgar's time by Ethelwold.

But it was not in the monasteries alone that the revival was felt. The vigorous church life of the days of Ethelwold and Canute led to the building in many villages of stone churches to replace either the village cross or the old churches of wood, or "wattle and daub" (sticks plaited on a framework and covered with clay paste). Some of these stone churches, or parts of them, may still be seen in Hampshire. Churches of Saxon times may

generally be known by certain peculiarities in the mode of building. Good building stone was rare, and, with the rough instruments then used, was not easily dressed.



Drawing from a photo by W. Smith, Gosport.

SAXON CHANCEL ARCH, CORHAMPTON CHURCH

Notice (1) the heavy "imposts" or blocks on which the arch rests; (2) the absence of ornament; (3) the "long-and-short" work at the sides.

So the Saxons generally used "dressed" stones only at the corners of their buildings and in arches, doorways and window angles. The main walls were often composed of rough flints or "rubble" embedded in cement. In

order to use such "dressed" stones as they did possess to the best advantage, the builders in making their angles would place the stones alternately flat and endways one above another. The drawing on this page shows this "long-and-short work" clearly. To strengthen the loose walls, vertical strips of stone-work called "pilasters" were built into the rough material. Examples of these rough walls so strengthened may be seen at Headbourne Worthy, at Corhampton, and at Boarhunt.

Inside the church we should have been most struck by the round-headed heavy chancel-arch resting on two great stones one on either side, and by the plain "tub" font of stone. Around the Saxon arch at Breamore in the far west of the county is a very ancient inscription which runs, when translated, "Here the covenant becomes manifest unto thee." This inscription *may* have been placed there in the days of Ethelwold himself. Those of Corhampton, Breamore, and Boarhunt are our most perfect Hampshire Saxon churches, but some Saxon work is also to be found at other places (mentioned in the note at the end of this chapter).

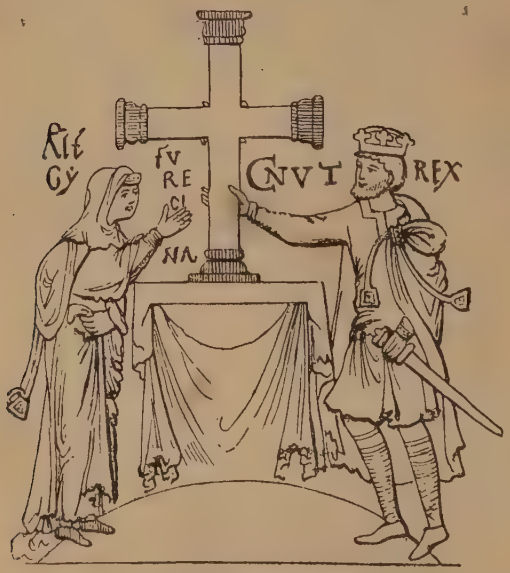
"LONG-AND-SHORT" WORK
From a window in Headbourne Worthy Church

But all this revival of religion and learning, of literature and art, was to receive a rude check. For, in 978, six years before Ethelwold's death, the unfortunate Ethelred the Redeless began his long reign of wretchedness and misery under repeated Danish attacks. This time Hampshire had to bear the full force of the storm. The persistency with which the Danes again and again attacked this part of England shows that they recognized in Hampshire the real heart of Wessex, and in Wessex the real heart of England. Ethelred, however, was no Alfred, and in his day treachery and deceit took the place of devotion and loyalty. In 980 Southampton was "ravaged by a ship-force, and the most part of the townsmen slain or led captive". This seems to have been only a pirate-raid. But in 994 Sweyn of Denmark, accompanied by Olaf of Norway, after failing to take London, ravaged our south-eastern coasts, "doing unspeakable evil," until the weak king offered to buy him off. The invaders set up their winter quarters at Southampton, and, if the name Woolston really means "Olaf's-ton", it must have been at this time that the name was given. To Southampton came Elphege, Bishop of Winchester (afterwards, when Archbishop of Canterbury, slain by the Danes), and Ethelweard, the Ealdorman of Hampshire. Thence they led Olaf "with much worship" to the king at Andover, where Olaf, accepting Christianity, undertook to attack this land no more. He kept his promise. But Sweyn remained until he had "eaten out" the neighbourhood. He departed, however, only for a time, for in 998 the Danes returned and "sat down in the Isle of Wight, and got their food the while from Hampshire and from Sussex". Three years later in 1001 the invaders swept down upon the country with more terrible force than ever, this time from the land side. London with Kent and Surrey had fallen, for among the Saxons there were strife and treachery everywhere. It is with shame that we find the Hampshire Ealdorman, Ælfric, foremost among the faithless nobles. At Alton the invaders were met by the forces of Hampshire. "And

there was Ethelweard the king's high-steward slain, and Leofric at Whitchurch, and Leofwin the king's high-steward, and Wulfhere the bishop's thane, and Godwin at Worthy, Bishop Elfsige's son, and of all men one and eighty." On swept the Danish host towards the west country, leaving in its rear a broad track of desolate and blackened waste. Bishop's Waltham was among the towns given to the flames. Two years later, a repeated act of treachery on Elfric's part led to another disaster. The state of terror and dread to which treason and faithlessness on all sides had reduced the wretched Ethelred, caused him to order the Danish massacre of the year 1002. Next year, the Danish armies, returning from the west to exact vengeance, were met by the forces of Wiltshire and Hampshire under Elfric. But the crafty leader, says the Chronicler, was at his "old tricks". Pretending to be ill, he refused to attack, and allowed Sweyn and his host to devastate Wiltshire, as they passed towards the sea.

And so the weary years of horror and bloodshed came and went. Hampshire, it is clear, became the base from which the Danish forces acted, and to which they returned when winter or failing supplies put an end for a time to their campaigning. In 1006 the Chronicle tells us that they came "to their quarters in the Isle of Wight, and procured themselves there from all parts that which they needed. And then, at midwinter, they went to their ready store throughout Hampshire into Berkshire, to Reading; and they did their old wont; they lighted their war-beacons as they went". (Notice here, once again, that the Reading road was the great gateway for Hampshire on the north.) Eighty years after, at the time of the Domesday Survey, the Hampshire coasts still showed the traces of Danish ravages. For example, Fareham paid reduced taxes "on account of the (ravages of the) Wikings, because it is near the sea". Just as Fareham Creek must have been a great resort of the Danes, so also was Langstone Harbour. Bishop Denewulf of Winchester, writing during the time of the invasions, says of Bedhampton that "When my lord

first let it to me it was unprovided with cattle and laid waste by heathen folk; and I myself provided the cattle, and there people were afterwards". Again, Southampton, though less exposed, suffered many things at the hands of the "heathen folk" as they passed by, following the Itchen Valley northwards. For, at this period, the town was moved from Itchen side and rebuilt



CANUTE AND ELFGIFU
From Hyde Register (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. No. 960).

in a stronger position on the shore of the Test. At no time since have our Hampshire coasts suffered so severely.

The end of all these horrors came in 1017 when Canute the son of Sweyn became King of all England. (For a time Edmund Ironside, son of Ethelred, had held Wessex.) The false Elfric had been slain in the previous year at the Battle of Ashington, in Essex. A memorial of this deceitful schemer still exists—a seal found many years ago near Winchester.

The days of Canute (1017–35) brought much-needed rest and peace to our exhausted Hampshire. A generous conqueror, he did much for trade and industry and good government. The Church especially had cause to thank him. On p. 66 may be seen a copy of an illustration from a very old Hyde Abbey book, showing Canute, and his wife Elfgifu, or Elgiva (the same as Emma, formerly wife of Ethelred) presenting the great cross to the abbey altar. Valuable grants of land to both the old and the New Minster were among the many benefactions of the great king. Dying in 1035, he was buried in the Cathedral at Winchester.

After Canute's death we hear less of Hampshire, for, when the short reigns of Harold I and Hardicanute had ended, the next king, Edward the Confessor, looked to London, and not to Winchester as his capital.

During Edward's reign (1040–65) we are interested in Hampshire mainly because of two great personages whose homes were in the county, Emma (or Elgiva) widow of Canute and mother of Edward the king, and Godwin, the great Earl of Wessex. But though London was becoming more and more the national centre, it was at Winchester that Edward was "hallowed" as king. In the same year, 1043, the house of his mother, the "Old Lady" Emma, was suddenly beset by a strong party sent by the king, "and they bereaved her (says the Chronicle) of all the treasures which she possessed—they were not to be told (i.e. for number)—because before that she had been very hard with the king, her son, insomuch as she had done less for him than he would." Emma, after so many years spent as Canute's wife, had become much more Danish than Saxon in sympathy, and Edward apparently felt that she ought to have supported him on Canute's death. The story that she proved her innocence of charges made against her by walking unharmed upon red-hot ploughshares is a mere fable. It is certain, however, that she headed a powerful party in Wessex which was in sympathy with the system of government set up by Canute, while Edward looked more and more towards Normandy for his friends and advisers. Consequently, while a peaceful

Norman invasion of bishops, counsellors, and friends of the king was going on in London and the country around, Hampshire under the influence of Emma and the great Godwin was opposed to the Norman influence. Winchester had been given to Emma as her "morning-gift" by Ethelred, and her great house in the High Street was still existing in 1119.

The struggle between the Godwin-Emma party and the king's Normanizing party lasted for several years. When Godwin was banished in 1051, his daughter Edith, the "Young Lady" who had married the king, but had lived with him very rarely, was sent for a time to Wherwell Nunnery. Meanwhile, the "Old Lady" Emma died. Godwin, returning in 1052, found himself at the head of the anti-Norman party, and for a time he was triumphant. But only for a space. In 1053 the king was at Winchester —his own city again now that Emma was dead—to keep the Easter feast and "wear his crown", that is, to hold a solemn court. Two days after Easter, Godwin while sitting at table with the king "suddenly sank down by the footstool, deprived of speech, and of all his power". He lingered for a day or so, and then, says the Chronicle, he "forthfared", and was buried in the Old Minster. His death removed Hampshire for a time from the centre of the strife, and until the Norman Conqueror from Hastings entered our county nothing more of importance is told of it.

Let us then turn at once to the Hampshire of Norman times, and see what changes the invaders made in the royal county of Saxon England.

NOTE ON SAXON WORK IN HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES

The best examples of Saxon architecture in Hampshire are parts of the Crypt of Winchester Cathedral, and the churches of Corhampton, Breamore, and Boarhunt. Traces in the form of arches, old walls, "pilaster" strips, or long-and-short work, may be found at Ashley, Greywell, Hambledon, Headbourne Worthy, Little Somborne, Stoke Charity, Hinton Ampner, Tichborne, Titchfield, Alresford, Tunworth, and Tufton.

ANGLO-NORMAN HAMPSHIRE

CHAPTER VIII

CONQUERED HAMPSHIRE

What share had the men of Hampshire in the gallant fight made by the Saxons at Hastings? It would be interesting to know how many Hampshire men were in that small but compact band which fought to the last around the person of Harold. According to one story, even the monks of New Minster, setting aside their cowls and donning coats of mail, followed their abbot to Senlac and fought and died on the battlefield. William, we are told, on hearing of the discovery of their bodies vowed that the Abbey should suffer the loss of a manor for every monk. But the story can hardly be true, for New Minster, far from losing lands, gained very considerably in William's time.

Yet Hampshire men must have borne their share in the conflict. *Domesday Book* speaks of two tenants from Tytherley who fell at Hastings. The list of Hampshire landowners given in *Domesday Book* contains very few Saxon names indeed. Land once held by Saxon Alwin or Brihtric is now in the hands of Norman Hugh or Herbert. We may believe that the former Saxon owners of the land had either fallen at Hastings, or had been driven out in consequence of their opposition to William. Harold himself had great estates in Hampshire. Not only did he hold the rich royal manors, Andover, Basingstoke, Kingsclere, King's Somborne, Alton, Hurstbourne, Selborne, and many more, but Godwin his father had left him wide lands as Earl of Wessex. Sutton Scotney, Eastleigh, Houghton, Little Somborne, Preston Candover; —these and many other places belonged either wholly,

or in part, to the House of Godwin. Few of the places mentioned, we need hardly doubt, failed to send men to swell the Saxon host.

The growing importance of London, referred to in the last chapter, is again illustrated by the fact that William made that city the first object of attack after he moved from Hastings. But Hampshire was too great a county in those days to be long neglected. One account which we may well believe, tells us how the Conqueror, within a very short time after his victory, demanded and received from Winchester tribute and submission. Not long after, William came in person, received the homage of his new subjects, and prepared to make his own home in Winchester, and to place there the seat of government. In that portion of the High Street that now comes between the City Cross and Market Street, the royal palace was erected.

In the centre of a great enclosure stood the King's Hall and his private chambers. Around were the rooms of his officers and servants. Nearer to the boundary walls were the stables, the workshops, the kitchens, and the forges, which supplied the needs of the king and his household. In the western part of the enclosure stood the King's Chapel, now the Church of St. Laurence. To this day, a newly appointed Bishop of Winchester visits this church first, a custom which dates from those Norman days when the bishop did homage to the king in the king's own chapel for the lands held by the bishop as a great church baron.

William procured the land on which to build his house from the neighbouring Abbey of New Minster. He did not seize it, as is sometimes said, but he bargained for it with the monks, and, it is to be feared, had the worst of the bargain. For he surrendered churches and land at Kingsclere, and the whole manor of Alton, to the business-like monks before he secured the site. The feeling that the monks had been too clever for the king is expressed in *Domesday Book*, where they are accused of obtaining Alton " unjustly ", selling the king land in Winchester which was really his from the first. The

story shows how even a great king like William dare not do violence to the Church.

The drooping fortunes of Winchester revived, and for another century, whatever may have been the commercial greatness of London, Winchester was the political capital of England. The days of Alfred seemed to have returned in even greater glory. Here were held great Councils, like that in 1070 where William "wore his crown", and was recrowned with great pomp in the presence of three envoys from the Pope. Here, great offenders like Waltheof were tried and condemned, and Norman lawyers worked out plans for helping the king to keep his rebellious barons in check. Messengers and "clerks" (i.e. clergy or clerics, who did the king's official business) came to Winchester in great numbers, bringing with them the returns of the Domesday Inquiry. Lords and earls came and went with their retainers; sheriffs brought in their moneys to the royal exchequer; envoys came and went, conveying the king's instructions to all parts of his extensive dominions. The Winchester of the Conqueror's time was maintained in all its dignity by his sons William Rufus and Henry I. A famous "Survey" of the city made by Henry I's order gives us a picture of a capital closely packed with the houses of small and great. In addition to the king's palace, and the bishop's house at Wolvesey, great ministers, like Flambard, had built houses in the city, and great county barons, like Robert Mauduit from Hartley Mauduit, or Baldwin de Redvers from Christchurch, maintained their "halls" in Winchester. "Moneyers," shoemakers, tanners, butchers, smiths, and other craftsmen plied their trades within its walls, and met from time to time in the drinking parties which formed part of the business of their "guilds" or societies.

Even in the days of Richard I, at the end of the twelfth century, Winchester was a place of much importance. Why should the Norman kings have made it so? The chief reasons are not far to seek. Winchester was the ancient capital, both of Wessex and of England, so that in retaining it the Norman conquerors might claim to be direct successors in the line of Alfred. More important

still, it stood within easy reach of Southampton Water, the great natural gateway into England from Normandy. The swift steamers that now ply between Southampton and Havre or Cherbourg follow much the same track as that taken by the "esneccas", the "snake"-like ships of Normandy eight hundred years ago. The only portions of Normandy left to us in these days, the Channel Islands, still look to Southampton as their natural port of entry into England, and for many years they were treated as part of Hampshire. They are, to this day, in the diocese of Winchester.

The map on p. 73 will show how central and how convenient the position of Winchester was for the capital of an Anglo-Norman dominion. From 1066 until 1204, when King John lost Normandy, Hampshire was the real centre of this Anglo-Norman realm, the clasp, as it were, which held the two portions together. The next chapter will show more fully how important a part our county played in this respect during these years.

As we should expect, from the fixing of the capital at Winchester, great events happened in Hampshire in the Conqueror's reign. Let us choose out two or three of the most striking and important.

Winchester, in 1076, was the scene of the trial and execution of Waltheof, the last of the Saxon earls, "in stature and form as fair as a second Absalom." Some discontented Norman barons had induced him to join in a foolish conspiracy, and, popular as Waltheof was with the native English, William felt strong enough to order his execution without risking his own position.

Another event of which all Hampshire people have heard is the "making" of the New Forest. There is no schoolboy who has not heard how William "loved the tall deer as if he had been their father". Perhaps, too, there is no schoolboy who has not heard the story of the churches which were pulled down, the villages that were blotted out, and the fertile lands that were given up to wild beasts, in order that all south-west Hampshire might be set apart for the royal hunting-ground. But William, "stark" as he

Map of the Anglo-Norman Realm
Time of Henry II.

was, was no such monster as this. All these stories of desolation and ruin were invented years afterwards. We must remember that "forest" in Norman times did not mean, necessarily, a stretch of land covered with trees. Nor, when a piece of land was "afforested", did that mean that trees were planted upon it. A piece of land was "afforested" or converted into forest when it was set apart for the chase and put under a special law. Now, if the king sought such a hunting-ground near his Winchester home, is it likely that he would go to the enormous trouble and expense of actually *planting* a forest where cultivated land once was to be found? At Brockenhurst, at Fawley, and at other places in the New Forest, traces of Norman churches can still be seen. Is it likely that William would destroy churches in order to plant a forest, and then immediately allow these new ones to be built? No! the wild woodlands of Southern Hampshire—dense woodland for hundreds of years before William's time (see Chapter IV)—provided him with a hunting-ground ready-made. All that the king had to do was to put a wide stretch of it under "forest" law, and so make a "New" Forest. The sternness of the Forest Law (of which Chapter X will tell us something) perhaps gave rise to those stories of William's cruel laying waste of the countryside, which many of us used to believe.

But of all the great works of the Conqueror that Hampshire saw, the greatest, without doubt, was the making of that wonderful record, which the common people called *Domesday Book*, for it seemed to them like the great book of all the doings of mankind, which was to be used at the Day of Judgement. A Saxon writer—the writer in the *Chronicle*—will give us the best account of the circumstances which led to the compiling of the great record. Under the date 1085, the Chronicler tells how the Conqueror had "deep speech" with his Witan and then "sent his men all over England into every shire and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the

several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each." The old "Dane-geld" had now become a regular land-tax, and the king, anxious to discover to the smallest fraction how much money he might expect from this, and other taxes, caused the great Survey to be made. Royal "clerks" (clerics) armed with parchments, inkhorn, and pen, and supported by the sheriff and the great ones of the shire, visited every corner of the land. So thoroughly was their work done that—as the Chronicler, in his disgust, declares—"not an ox, or a cow, or a pig was passed by". All this is interesting for us, because it was to Winchester that the "clerks" brought their rolls of notes; and in the royal offices at Winchester all the records were sorted so that the great book might be made in which the lands were arranged according to their proper owners.

Now what has *Domesday Book* to tell us of Hampshire? First of all it shows very clearly that nearly all the land, except the lands of the Church, had passed into the hands of Norman lords. Some had even changed hands *twice*, for William Fitz-Osbern, the Norman who revolted against the Conqueror, had forfeited his Hampshire estates.

About two-fifths of the whole county was in the hands of the Church. The Bishop of Winchester, for his own support, held about two dozen "manors", and for the support of his monks at the Old Minster, about thirty more (see p. 130). New Minster held over a dozen, including the great manor of Micheldever, and the manors of Brown Candover, North Stoneham, Alton, Bighton, Abbot's Worthy, Abbott's Ann, and others. St. Mary's Nunnery (Winchester) held Froyle, Liss, Leckford, Timsbury, and Ovington. Wherwell Nunnery held several of the manors around the convent, and Romsey Nunnery could claim Romsey itself, with Itchen Stoke, Sydmonton, Sway, and other estates. Hayling Island was held by the great Norman Abbey of Jumièges, while several other Hampshire manors were in the lordship of outside Abbots.

Of the other landowners the chief was the king himself.

We have already heard of some of his great holdings. Next in order came Hugh de Port, the Hugh who came from a small Norman village (Port-en-Bessein), and found himself lord in Hampshire of fifty-six manors, and holder as under-lord of several more. His home at Basing was thus the head quarters of a great "fief", and the fact that William gave him all this land in one county, though it had not previously all belonged to one tenant, shows how suspicious we must be in reading the history-book accounts of the way in which the king scattered great estates so as to keep the nobles weak. Some of the manors which Hugh held as under-lord he held from the bishop, and from Old and New Minster, on condition that he discharged military duty for these Church tenants, who could not do such duty for themselves. Twenty knights did service for New Minster; sixty for the bishop and Old Minster. Other holders of land whose names are still to be found in the county were Bernard Pauncevolt (or Pauncefoot). Pauncefoot's Hill near Romsey retains his name. Hartley Maudit was held by William Mauditt (or Malduit), and Croc the Huntsman held Crux (Croc's) Easton. Several more of the king's huntsmen held lands in this county of forests. Other royal servants, as well as huntsmen, had Hampshire lands for their services. William the Archer held Bentley; Nutley and East Worldham were set down under the name of Geoffrey the King's Marshal, and Miles the Porter held part of Bramdean for his services as Keeper of Winchester Castle.

Throughout the Hampshire portion of Domesday we can trace clearly the great influence of the king, the bishop, and the religious houses in the county. Winchester itself was not mentioned; it was left for Henry I to make a very thorough survey of the royal city.

Before the Conqueror's reign was over Bishop Walkelin had begun to build the great Norman Cathedral at Winchester. His work, commenced in 1079, was not completed until 1093. A few years later the great tower fell, and was rebuilt. If you examine carefully the east side of the north transept you will notice that the masonry

near the tower shows much narrower joints between the stones than does the masonry further away from the tower. Along the line where the two kinds of masonry meet, the rebuilders of Walkelin's ruined tower joined their fine new work on to that part of the older and rougher work which had stood firm. In the roof of the Cathedral are still to be seen the giant oaken beams which were placed there in Walkelin's time.

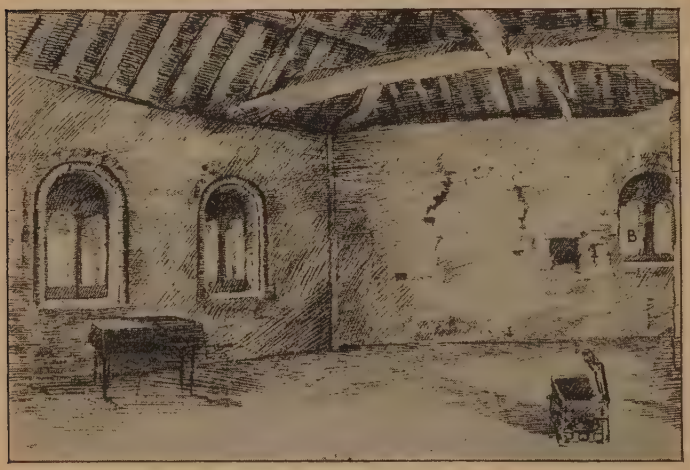
So magnificent a church must clearly have been very costly. *Domesday Book* shows only too plainly how some of the money was raised. Many a manor was groaning under heavy burdens in order that Walkelin's masons and carpenters might be kept at work. Meon was paying the bishop £40 instead of £30. Fareham £20 instead of £16, and Exton £30 instead of £20. No wonder, that, in every case the clerk adds, "but it cannot bear it." The story of the other great churches, and of the smaller village churches that sprang up all over Hampshire in Norman times must be reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

HAMPSHIRE AS THE ANGLO-NORMAN "BRIDGE"

The "Norman" period of English history—or, more strictly, the *Anglo*-Norman period—came to an end in 1204, when the Kings of England ceased to be also Dukes of Normandy. Now, as was stated in the last chapter, the "bridge" between the two parts of the Anglo-Norman dominion was Hampshire, not only because it lay right opposite to Normandy, but because it possessed in Southampton Water, and Portsmouth Harbour, such magnificent approaches. To and from Southampton (or, in later times, Portchester) passed the "esneccas", the "snakes", or swift royal yachts of those days. Off Southampton quays, or beneath the stout walls of Portchester lay very frequently great fleets. At one time vessels would be assembled to take on board troops for Henry I's

campaign in Normandy against his brother Robert. Portchester, at another time, saw beneath its walls a Norman fleet bringing the force with which Robert intended to wrest the crown from his upstart brother Henry. Sometimes, as in 1177, the fleet would be awaiting the feudal levies and the hired troops which Henry II was bringing from the great muster at Winchester, in



ROOM IN NORMAN HOUSE AT SOUTHAMPTON

The house stands near the seashore. It is generally known as "King John's House", and may have been used by Anglo-Norman kings in their journeys to and from Normandy.

order to carry them across to suppress his rebellious Norman vassals. Besides troops, a continual stream of bishops and clerks, Pope's envoys and foreign ambassadors, king's messengers and king's children, sheriffs and stewards, nobles, knights, and royal servants, must have passed through these two great entries. Let us look for a moment at the records of Southampton, for they can tell us something of this ceaseless coming and going. Henry II's sheriffs of Hampshire repeatedly pay out of the Southampton revenues for "transport

of the king", for "transporting the royal treasure", for carrying the king's wine from Hampton to Winchester, and for "transporting" the king's messengers and friends. Richard I, in 1189, the first year of his reign, held his first great court at Winchester. He himself had come from Normandy to Southampton, and the Southampton accounts of that year show how busy the port was with royal affairs. Repairs to the royal "esnecca" and wages to its crew after six voyages with treasure cost a heavy sum. Then ships had to be hired for the passage of the king's servants, his bishops, and his troops. The sum of £2 19*s.* was paid for the hire of a ship to carry "five hundred bacon hogs and forty 'weys' of cheese" to supply the king's castles in Normandy. Did the Lion-Heart hope, we wonder, that stout garrisons, fed on prime Hampshire hogs, would be able to hold his Norman castles secure against all the tricks of King Philip until the Great Crusade had ended in triumph?

The London road then led from Southampton by way of Winchester, a little south of the present road through Basingstoke. Strong castles soon arose along this route at Southampton, Winchester, and Odiham, while at Portchester the great Norman castle, whose square "keep" still rises above the shoals of Portsmouth Harbour, was built by Henry I within the walls of the ancient Roman fortress. When Normandy was lost and King John needed an arsenal on the south coast to supply him and his fleet with munitions of war, he not only strengthened Portchester, but pushed forward the new docks and the new naval station he was making nearer the sea, at Portsmouth. In 1213 the Sheriff of Hampshire was ordered "to cause our docks at Portsmouth to be enclosed with a good strong wall in such a manner as our well-beloved and faithful William Archdeacon of Taunton will tell you, for the preservation of our ships and galleys". We should think it strange now if the Admiralty sent down an archdeacon to supervise the building of new docks at Portsmouth! But we must remember that, in those days, the Church was responsible for all education, and only as Churchmen

could men receive the education that was needed for the learned and "organizing" professions. Thus, at Southampton, the war material in the castle was in the charge of the chaplain, and many of us know that the great William of Wykeham, long after John's day, though a Churchman, rose to fame as an architect.

It would be tedious to attempt to describe fully the doings of all the Anglo-Norman kings in Hampshire. Of Rufus we shall hear in the next chapter. His brother, the young Henry I, who forestalled the elder brother Robert, was frequently in Hampshire. From the nunnery at Romsey (whither she had fled from the savagery of Rufus) he took Edith, a princess of the old Saxon line, gave her the Norman name Maud, and made her his Queen. At Westbury, near West Meon, he met some time after his brother Robert, who had landed at Portchester, had left Winchester untouched when he heard that the queen was lying ill within its walls, and had moved on towards London. The treaty then made left Henry at peace until he could turn and crush Robert, and this he did in 1106. Henry frequently "wore his crown" at Winchester. It was at one such "crown-wearing" that those luckless "moneyers" suffered, whom we have mentioned in Chapter VII. Henry was quite as "stark" as his father, and the royal executioner at Winchester was kept busy during his long visits.

Upon Henry's death in 1135, his nephew, Stephen, hurried to Winchester, to secure the wealth amassed by the dead king. "For mickle had Henry, King, gathered of gold and silver," says the Chronicle, and Stephen needed all this and more in order to buy over supporters against his rival, Matilda. In the dreary Civil War which followed—the war whose horrors are described in the last gloomy pages of the Chronicle—Hampshire played a leading part. For the see of Winchester was now held by one of those great baron-bishops of our history—Henry de Blois, Stephen's own brother. To him, the troubles of the State were the opportunity of the Church, and he tried to do in England what other great Churchmen were trying to do on the Continent. He tried

to make use of the quarrels of kings and barons, in order to make the Church supreme over both. But in such troubled times he ran great risks of being crushed by one party or the other. So, to secure himself against danger, he rebuilt as a great Norman fortress the bishop's palace at Wolvesey. Stephen's reign was a great period of castle-building, and the new Wolvesey was one of the strongest fortresses in England. Henry had made use in its construction of all the most recent improvements in the castle-builder's art. To this day we may still see much of the strong keep and south-east tower that defended its exposed eastern side, and much of the north wall yet stands. From such a stronghold the great bishop might overawe the city, and bid defiance to all who came against him.

Henry of Winchester was now prepared to play his great part in the coming struggle between Stephen and Matilda. Having induced the Pope to make him Legate, he put himself at the head of the clergy, claiming, as Legate, to be above the Archbishop of Canterbury. In his great hall at Wolvesey, enthroned as the Pope's representative, he held the famous Council of Clergy, which decided to recognize Matilda as "Lady of England". For Henry, enraged at Stephen's action in seizing and imprisoning two of the bishops, had deserted his brother's cause. Stephen's capture, shortly afterwards, favoured the plans of the scheming bishop, and he persuaded Matilda and her supporter, Earl Robert of Gloucester, to meet him in conference at Winchester. They won his support by promises that would have made him master of England if they could have been carried out. But soon, Matilda began rapidly to lose ground, and the ready bishop decided that he would gain more by supporting his brother. Summoning the Winchester citizens to his great hall, he spread a banquet for them, and then, securing the doors, he strove "with persuasion and gentle force" to win them to Stephen's side. But the "reeve" (or head man) of the city slipped out and seized the Castle outside Westgate for the Lady Matilda. Hampshire for a space experienced all the horrors of

civil war. Matilda's men seized Andover and Wherwell so as to keep open the road to the west, where most of their strength lay. To defend this side of the city the bishop held the strong outpost of Merdon near Hursley. From its lofty mounds he could watch the bridges and fords of the Test, or meet an attack from the direction of Christchurch, by Baldwin de Redvers, the great baron who held south-west Hants for Matilda. To the south-east of Winchester, Stephen's Castle Down near Bishop's Waltham, still preserves the memory of the outpost by which the bishop protected his position on that side, for the Earl of Gloucester had estates at Petersfield. Shut up in his citadel at Wolvesey Henry could only wreak a useless vengeance on the city which had refused to support him. Flaming brands hurled from Wolvesey towers soon reduced the eastern part of Winchester to a heap of ruins. The ancient Nunnaminster, and the newly built Hyde Abbey suffered heavily, as well as the humble huts of the poor, but, fortunately, the cathedral was unharmed. Gradually the friends of Stephen closed in on the city, sacked Andover, burnt the fort at Wherwell, and forced Matilda's garrison to flee from the Castle. Robert of Gloucester, her chief supporter, was taken at Stockbridge by the bishop's men, and was shortly afterwards released in exchange for Stephen. Hampshire was now held for the king by his warlike brother, and the conflict rolled away eastward.

Stephen's successor, Henry II, was more frequently a traveller through Hampshire than a visitor or resident, and so was Henry's son Richard. John it was who, (shall we say) "honoured (?)" the county more frequently with his presence—sometimes to enjoy his beloved hunting —sometimes, at Southampton, Portchester, or Portsmouth, to collect fleets and armies with which to chastise Philip of France. Of John we shall hear more in another chapter. The most memorable journey of his father, Henry II, was the solemn pilgrimage he made in 1170 to receive his scourging at the tomb of the murdered Becket. Landing at Southampton, he took the road which was trodden by the feet of many pilgrims for hundreds of

years afterwards. Passing to Winchester, he made his way thence by Alresford and Alton towards Farnham, and then kept to the ancient trackway which ran along the crest of the North Downs. Traces still exist of the numerous pilgrims who passed along this route since that time to visit the shrine of St. Thomas. At Southampton, the Hospital of God's House was founded, partly in order to assist them. At Winchester the monks of St. Swithun built a Pilgrims' Hall (now a part of the

PILGRIM'S TOKEN
Found near the north end of Upper Brook Street, Winchester.
The figures represent Christ and the Virgin.

Deanery stables) to receive the wayfarers, who, as they passed through the city, came to offer their devotions and to leave their gifts at the Shrine of St. Swithun. Farther on, the Knights Hospitallers—the special protectors of pilgrims—might offer them assistance at their priory of Godsfield near Alresford. (The small leaden tablet illustrated above, once the property of a pilgrim, was found near Winchester.)

Let us close this chapter by noticing one consequence of Hampshire's position as the Anglo-Norman "Bridge", which has left its marks in all parts of our county. That

consequence was the springing up of great Norman buildings in every direction—castles and private houses, churches and monasteries. Of the castles we have already mentioned those of the king. Henry of Winchester, in addition to his stronghold at Wolvesey, built a manor-house—a kind of country residence—at Bishop's

From a drawing by J. F. Guyer.
NORMAN DOORWAY, TITCHFIELD CHURCH

Waltham. In its ruins portions of Henry's work may still be detected, in the midst of alterations made by later bishops. The Earls of Devon had a house of which large portions still remain at Christchurch. Southampton can still show behind its great western wall parts of the house which, tradition says, was occupied by King John. In Warnford Park, on the banks of

Photograph by W. T. Green, Winchester.

NAVE AND CHANCEL OF ST. CROSS

A fine example of "Transitional" architecture. Built about 1160. Notice (1) the slightly-pointed arches; (2) the massive columns, circular in shape, their capitals ornamented, and only slightly greater than the columns in diameter; (3) the moulding of the arches on the under side; (4) the elaborate Late-Norman work at the East end (facing us in the picture).

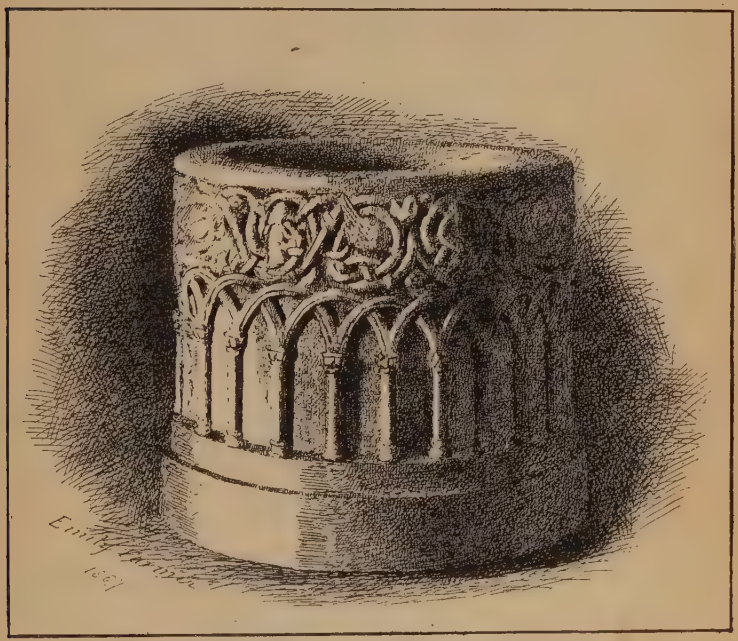
the Meon, are remains of a house once held by a branch of the great family of de Port, the head of the family still holding his great manor-house—itself really a castle—at Basing. Wherever the remains above mentioned are sufficiently extensive we can detect the round-headed windows, the light round window-shafts—the solid walls, and the great flat buttresses of the Norman builders.

But the chief glory of the county rested in the stately churches which were erected in such numbers in Hampshire mainly through the energy of Norman bishops. Bishop Walkelin finished his new cathedral in the reign of Rufus. Meanwhile, Ralph Flambard, the hated Bishop of Durham, had expelled most of the canons of Twyneham (or Christchurch), and had reduced the remainder to poverty. But the family of de Redvers, lords of the town, came to the rescue, and largely by their generosity the splendid new Priory Church was built for a body of Augustinian Canons (see p. 139). The church was built at a time when the Norman style of building was becoming very rich and highly decorated. Those who have seen the graceful arches and the delicate stone lattice-work on the north side of the church will understand well that this was the case.

Shortly before this, the energy of Bishop Henry de Blois helped to bring about the building of a great new church at Romsey Nunnery. This church, now known as Romsey Abbey, was built in Stephen's time. It is not so richly decorated as that at Christchurch, though in many ways it is a finer building.

The fourth great Norman church still left to us in Hampshire also dates from the time of Henry de Blois. This is the church of St. Cross' Hospital, built rather later than Romsey Abbey. Here the pillars of the Norman builders are as solid as ever, and their windows as deeply set as ever. But the great arches at St. Cross, instead of being quite semicircular, are very slightly pointed. The smaller arches in the aisles are still more pointed, and instead of being quite plain on the under side, all the arches are "moulded" beneath. That is to say, they show several parallel grooves which break

up the surface into separate "rolls" (see picture on p. 85). It is clear that in St. Cross' Church we can see the Norman style with its round arches and plain surfaces passing into the later "Gothic" style with its pointed arches, rich mouldings and highly decorated doorways, windows, and pillar capitals. Many Hampshire churches are built



NORMAN FONT AT PORTCHESTER CHURCH
Showing Late-Norman decorative work on a small scale.

in this "Transition" style—with solid squat pillars, sometimes square, but generally round; with arches usually slightly pointed; and with very rich mouldings on doorway and window. A list of *some* of the Hampshire churches, built in this "Transition" style at the end of the Anglo-Norman period is given at the end of the chapter. Readers should find out for themselves if their

own village church shows any signs of having been built at this period.

Of *pure* Norman churches, or parts of pure Norman churches, Hampshire has, as we should expect, very many. A reference to these is given at the end of the chapter. Naturally, it would be at places owned by the bishop or by some religious house that the fine Norman churches would be built. Bishop Walkelin commenced the splendid church at East Meon. Alton and Kingsclere owe their Norman churches to the fact that New Minster had much property at those places. Easton, Stoke Charity, and several others, belonged to the bishop. Portchester must thank Henry I for its fine church. Many of our Norman churches have disappeared, but even now, there are few counties in England which can show so many as Hampshire.

The churches that were built at the very end of this period, in the reign of King John, show that the transition was over, and that a new style had appeared. This style—called Early English—may be best seen in the eastern part of Winchester Cathedral, built by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy in about 1200. The rotting and slipping of the great beech logs on which he rested the foundations have made necessary the extensive repairs of the last few years. Many Hampshire churches are built in the same style. The style may be recognized by the "lancet" windows (see p. 89), by the pointed arches (which would just fit on an equilateral triangle), and by the pillars, round and squat as a rule with decorated "capitals". Sometimes solid square towers were added, as at Owslebury. In the larger churches several "lancets" were often grouped together, and between each lancet and the next was placed a slender round column, or shaft, not touching the main wall, and therefore known as a "detached" shaft. Examples may be seen at Winchester and Beaulieu (p. 145).

You will find it interesting to try to discover how much Early English work there is in your own village church.

Norman abbeys and Norman bishops held churches and lands in Hampshire. The Archbishop of Rouen received Bentworth (near Alton) from Henry I, and

LANCET WINDOW AT OWSLEBURY CHURCH
(Early English.)

the graceful church which Bentworth still possesses was probably built by the Norman Archbishop. Everywhere in Hampshire traces of Norman kings and barons, Norman bishops and abbots and priors are to be found. Thus there is good reason to believe that in the days when England and Normandy formed one great dominion, made still greater by Henry II, the real heart of that dominion was our own County of Hampshire.

NOTE ON NORMAN AND "EARLY ENGLISH" REMAINS

(*a*) *Norman.* Remains of houses at Southampton, Christchurch, Winchester (Wolvesey), and Warnford. Norman work is to be found in about 100 Hampshire churches. The best examples have already been mentioned.

(*b*) "*Transitional*" work cannot always be distinguished easily from Norman. The following churches offer some of the best illustrations of the style (dating from the later twelfth or early thirteenth century):—St. Cross, East Worldham, Hambledon, Bentworth, Barton Stacey, Selborne, Fawley, St. Mary Bourne, Houghton, Sparsholt, and the Sombornes.

(*c*) *Early English.* Many beautiful examples; belonging chiefly to the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. Some of the best are:—Winchester Cathedral (East End), Romsey Abbey (West End), Beaulieu, St. Thomas's (Portsmouth), Netley Abbey, Pamber Priory, and South Hayling. Other good examples are to be found at Cheriton, Owslebury, Sopley, Warblington, Thruxton, Chilbolton, Kingsclere, Hound (near Netley), Meonstoke, Milford, and Boldre.

CHAPTER X

ROYAL HUNTING-GROUNDS

During this century and a half (1066–1216), when Hampshire was the home of the Norman kings, the county was a centre not only of business but of pleasure. Such a land of wood and heath provided the chase-loving kings with many a hunting-ground ready made, and all that was necessary was the royal declaration which converted Nature's woodland into the monarch's "forest". The word "forest", let us remind ourselves, means

originally just a waste tract of land; not, necessarily, covered with trees. Indeed, within many of the forests to this day the traveller may come upon villages like Minstead and Lyndhurst, whose lands, well-cultivated from time immemorial, were "in the forest", even in the time of *Domesday Book*. That is, they were under the Forest Law, and treated as part of the area set aside for sport, though they were certainly not waste. An old writer, who wrote a book on Forest Law in the reign of Queen Elizabeth gives us a very clear definition of a "forest" as it really was. He calls it: "A certen territorie of wooddy grounds and fruitful pastures, priviledged for wild beasts and foules, of forrest, chase, and warren, to rest and abide in, in the safe protection of the king for his princely delight and pleasure."

Now this definition, if we examine it, can teach us much about the forests. In the first place it is quite clear that they might include "fruitful pastures". Again, both birds and animals are included among the game. We must also notice carefully that it is only for the king that forests are set apart. Only in his royal hunting-grounds was the special Forest Law enforced. If it were a subject of the king who owned a great hunting-ground, the lawyers would call it a "chase", not a "forest", and in this "chase" the common law of the land and not the Forest Law held good. The Bishop of Winchester had such a "chase" at Bishop's Waltham, and others at Hambledon and Havant—unenclosed tracts of land over which none but the bishop or those who had the bishop's permission might lawfully hunt. Should a great landholder wish to preserve his game still more strictly he enclosed a large area as a "park". Such "parks" increased rapidly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus Henry III permitted the St. Johns of Basing to enclose a park at Sherborne. At Itchel, near Dogmersfield, he allowed Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, to enclose a park, and shortly afterwards ordered the keeper of the royal forest of Alice Holt to supply four bucks and eight does, to stock the newly-made park.

In time every great Hampshire landholder secured his

right to have such an enclosure, and even those who could not aspire to a park gained rights of "free warren". That is, they were authorized to keep for themselves the hunting over their own lands, with the exception that any other huntsmen who were chasing a deer might continue the chase even if the deer ran into a "free-warren" area.

But it is with the forests—the *royal* hunting-grounds—that we are chiefly concerned. Nature had done much in spreading her woodlands far and wide to make of Hampshire a fit land to become a county of "forests". Long ago, almost the whole county was covered with woods; beech and yew on the chalk downs, birch and pine on the gravelly uplands, oak and holly and beech in the damper hollows. Most of the woodland has disappeared from the chalk downs with the advance of cultivation, though in the hollows carved out by the streams dense woods still flourish. Here and there, too, thick beech woods still cling to the steep slopes where cultivation is impossible, and clothe the well-known "Hangers" on the edges of the chalk country—at Bishop's Waltham, at Selborne, at Kingsclere, and other places.

But it is on the damper clays to the north and south and east of the central chalk belt that the dense woods are now found (see map on p. 97). It is here that we must look for the great "forests" of Norman times. North of the chalk lay the forests of Freemantle (near Kingsclere), Pamber (or Tadley), and Eversley; south of the chalk plateau lay the great New Forest, where Rufus came to his mysterious end:

> Whether the saints they swerved the shot,
> Or whether by treason, men knowen not;

and the Forest of Bere, one on either side of Southampton Water. In Norman times these two almost touched each other in the neighbourhood of Southampton. Eastward of the chalk, on the clay lands of the Sussex border, were Woolmer and Alice Holt. Away in the west, on the Wiltshire border, around Tytherley, Lockerley, and Dean, stretched Buckholt Forest, a continuation of the famous

Wiltshire Forest of Clarendon, where Henry II had one of his favourite hunting-seats. On the chalk itself were only two forests. West Bere lay between Winchester and King's Somborne ; traces of it are still visible at Ashley and Sparsholt. The other chalk-land forest was that of Chute, of which Harewood Forest, near Andover, is a fragment. In or near each forest lay a royal manor, where the king stayed during his hunting-visits. In the north, Freemantle (near Kingsclere) or Odiham was the hunting seat. Freemantle was a favourite haunt of King John. Hardly a year passed without a visit, and sometimes three or four visits were paid in one year. Selborne was the royal "hunting-box" for Alice Holt and Woolmer, Portchester for Bere Forest, Lyndhurst for the New Forest, King's Somborne for West Bere, and Andover for Chute. Need we feel surprised when we are told that Hampshire contained more royal forest than all the other counties of England together ? You would find it interesting to make a list of the Hampshire villages whose names contain such syllables as "wood", "walt", "holt", "hurst", or "clere" (clearing), all of them signs of the presence of woodland.

How were these vast stretches of forest managed, and what was the Forest Law of which we hear so much ? Is it true that :

> The forest law was sharp and stern,
> The forest blood was keen ?

We shall find that it *is* true. From very early times, as soon as the king began to increase his power, he claimed special rights of hunting. The Norman lawyers, obedient servants of the king, drew up the special "Forest Law", and by the time of Henry II the system was complete. His "Assize of the Forest" was terribly oppressive, not only to the barons who claimed their own hunting-rights, but to the poor people who lived in the forests. They dare not possess bow or arrow, or hunting-dog. Though they might take dry wood, they dare not cut down the smallest tree. All alike were compelled to swear that they would keep the forest "peace" ; their right of "agistment", or feeding

cattle within the forest, was strictly limited; and the penalty for injuring the king's hunting was death, if the offence were persisted in. Even clergy, Henry declared, must be dealt with. For, regardless of the thunders of the Church that followed Becket's death, he ordered his foresters that they should "not hesitate to lay hands upon" any "clerk" who broke the Forest Law. It is to be feared that such an order was often necessary, for we find at one time a chaplain from Sparsholt summoned for trespass in West Bere, and a New Forest priest similarly dealt with at another time.

The landowners, too, had much cause for complaint. Holders of lands within the king's forests were obliged to go to the expense of keeping foresters to guard, not *their* hunting, but the king's! Then, whenever the chief forester of the county wished to hold a court of inquiry, every earl, or baron, or knight, or bishop, or other landholder who was summoned, must attend on pain of heavy punishment.

Some of these harsh rules were removed by Magna Charta and by the much gentler "Charter of the Forest", which the nobles forced Henry III to grant. But for many years the forests were a continual source of dispute between the kings and their people. Even Edward I, in spite of his motto, "Keep Troth," could go back on his word when his forest rights were in question.

How were the rules carried out, you may ask? How could the king make sure that his deer were not slain by trespassers, his trees not cut down, or his forest grass—so necessary for the beasts of the chase—not all eaten up by the cattle of the forest-dwellers? To carry out his laws he employed a whole army of officers. Over all the forests in the county was a Chief Forester, so powerful that he was independent even of the sheriff. Each separate forest had its chief keeper, who was in charge both of the wood and the beasts. To him the king's order came when venison was wanted for the royal table, or timber for the royal buildings. Thus Henry III ordered his keepers in Bere and Pamber to supply oak to the Friars of Winchester, so that they might build their

dwelling. Edward I often drew supplies from Hampshire forests. The keeper of Alice Holt and Woolmer was ordered at one time to send two bucks to Windsor for food for the king's children. Three years later an order came down that he should give every assistance to his Majesty's huntsman, who had come down to take harts for the royal household. At another time he was told to send thirty great oaks for the repair of Winchester Castle, and to provide "six oak stumps" to the keepers of the king's dogs through the winter—wood for fuel, we must suppose.

Under the keeper were a number of foresters, each of whom had his "walk" or "bailiwick" to oversee. Some were mounted, all alike carried a bow and a horn, and their special duties were to take offenders, to preserve the woods, and to attend to the needs of the deer. "Woodwards", armed with hatchet or bill, assisted them, attending more to the "vert"—the green wood itself—than to the "venison". Then there were a number of elected officers; elected usually in the County Court, beneath the eye of the sheriff. Among these were (1) the "Verderers", who held their "Court of Attachment" every forty days to try small offences, and to commit grave offenders for trial at the great court which was held every three years; (2) the "Agisters", whose special duty it was to arrange the times when cattle might feed in the forest, and how many cattle each tenant might have. All this was arranged at the "Court of Swainmote", held three times a year; (3) The "Regardors"—a kind of permanent jury of twelve men, whose duty it was to present offenders when the great "Court of Regard" was held every three years. It was the Regardors who were responsible for carrying out the cruel law which compelled all dogs within the forest limits, not belonging to the king, to lose part of their paws so as to make them useless for hunting.

Traces of these courts still exist in the New Forest. To this day a "Verderers' Hall" may be seen at Lyndhurst.

In later days, when lords and ladies no longer went 'hawking', and kings were too much occupied to have time for deer-hunting, the Hampshire Forests were of

value chiefly for the fine oak timber out of which many a man-of-war was built. Elizabeth and the Stuart kings took care to preserve the timber, and to see that fresh trees were planted as the old ones were cut down. In the year 1608, it was calculated that the three forests of Bere, Alice Holt, and the New Forest, contained nearly 150,000 trees fit for the Navy. But so careless was the Government in the eighteenth century, that in 1783 the number had fallen to little more than 40,000. Since that time steps have been taken to replant the areas which had been stripped of trees.

Gradually, too, the Forest Law fell into disuse, and areas which had once been "forest", were "disafforested". Even in the time of Henry III we find that the King was compelled to "disafforest" certain areas. When a place had once been under forest law, but had since been put once more under the ordinary law, the Norman lawyers called it a *pur lieu*, that is, a "pure place", a place not tainted or infected by forest law. In some parts of the county you may still find these "Purlieus". Sometimes the name has been changed to Purley.

The one king who tried to revive the Forest Laws was Charles I, and he did so partly in order that he might make money from the fines paid by breakers of the law; partly that he might accuse people of having occupied land within the borders of the forest, and then compel them to pay a heavy fine. One case, a very hard one, that arose in Charles's reign is so interesting that it must be mentioned. A poor man in the New Forest who had taken a deer was fined the heavy sum of £30. His fine was reduced to £5 upon his petitioning the king, stating that he was "a miserable poore man in lamentable distresse, hath a poor wife and vij small children, had great loss by fire, one of his children is a cripple, hath a blind man to his father that wholly lyeth upon him, hath been twice imprisoned for this one fault, and in his present durance is like to starve for want of food, and so are his poore children at home." He promises that "he never did or will, as God shall help him, commit any offence against His Majestie's game but onely one".

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

CLERGY, LORDS, AND COMMONS

When John lost Normandy in 1204, and the people of England turned to the settlement of great questions at home, Hampshire ceased to occupy its proud position, and became much like any other English county. In this chapter, therefore, we may interrupt for a while the thread of our story, and pause to take a general survey of the people of the county and the life they lived in the later part of the Middle Ages. Who were the Hampshire people; what kind of work did they do; how were they governed; what life did they lead on their farms, in their streets, their market-places, their churches, and their manor-houses, in the days when Edward I was fighting the Scots or Edward III fighting the French, when great churches like the cathedral at Winchester or the Priory Church at Christchurch were being rebuilt, when the galleys of Venice lay off the quays of Southampton, and when the Hampshire towns—especially Southampton and Winchester—were strengthening their fortifications against possible attacks from the French? Such questions as these this chapter will try to answer.

Now, there are few of us who do not know that during the hundred years which followed the signing of Magna Charta in 1215, the kings and people of England were gradually building up with many struggles, many failures, many difficulities, the great national institution—Parliament. When Parliament finally took a definite shape in the time of Edward I, it was found that the nation divided itself quite naturally into the three groups or "Estates", Clergy, Lords, and Commons. The Clergy

were represented in their special assembly or "Convocation", the Lords in what afterwards became the House of Lords, and the great mass of the people, organized in county "communities", or borough "communities", were represented through their communities in what afterwards became the House of Commons, that is, the House of "Communities". Now, these three "Estates" represented in Parliament are for us a picture of the social classes into which the English people were divided in the Middle Ages. In order to understand Hampshire life, therefore, during that period, we cannot do better than to take each class in turn as we find it represented in our own county. Let us begin with the "Commons"—as the people came to be called who were represented through their "communities".

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMONS

(1) The People of the Country

In previous chapters you have noticed more than once references to "manors", in which the word "manor" seems to mean an estate of land. We shall get the clearest idea of country-life in Hampshire during this period, if we take as illustrations some of those Hampshire manors or "estates" whose records are still left to us.

Now it is roughly true that a manor was a landed estate on which lived and worked a number of peasants. It is also true in a sense that the manor belonged to a "Lord of the Manor", who might be the king or a bishop, or a monastery, a great noble, or a knight. We have already heard of some holders of Hampshire manors in the time of William the Conqueror. But a lord did not *own* a manor in the sense in which we speak now of "owning" land. He could not do as he liked with his estate, cultivate it in any way he pleased, turn it all into pasture if he wished, or dismiss, just when he liked,

PART OF AN OLD MAP OF WHITCHURCH, SHOWING THE OPEN-FIELD STRIPS

the peasants who tilled the land. It would be more true to say that he *held* the manor, than to say that he owned it. For every one who took part in the management and working of the estate, from the lord himself down to the meanest peasant, worked in accordance with a great number of ancient customs which had existed for so long that they had become a fixed system. This system, which we now call the "manorial" system, was not broken through for many centuries.

The old plan of part of Whitchurch on p. 101 shows the general arrangement of a manorial estate.[1] Near the centre clustered the houses—wooden-framed, with walls of "wattle-and-daub"—and the cattle-sheds of the peasantry. (A peasant's house could be built for 20*s*. in those days.) Most manors also possessed a church, a mill, and, possibly, a hall for the Lord of the Manor. Beyond the village lay the three great cultivated fields, one growing wheat, another oats or barley, the third lying fallow. Every year the arrangement was altered, and so each field took its turn for a particular crop once every three years. Each field had its own name. Thus, at one village we hear of Peperstiche Field, Little Field, and Yard Field. Further, you will notice that each large field is divided into many narrow strips, each strip representing, roughly speaking, the amount of land which could be ploughed in a day by the village team of eight oxen. The strips were "held" rather than owned in scattered "holdings", some by the lord, and some by the peasants who cultivated the lord's lands in return for the lands which they held themselves. Nothing but a thin thread of unploughed turf separated one strip from another, and when the crops had been reaped the cattle of the manor could roam unchecked over the stubble. For beyond the cultivated fields lay the rough pasture, and the "waste" and woodlands in which the hogs revelled among the acorns. The manors on the Downs, however, generally possessed on their borders,

[1] In using the map, we must remember, however, that the *manor* and *borough* of Whitchurch are not necessarily the same.

not woods for the pigs, but wide stretches of rolling Down-land where great flocks of sheep were fed. In an account which the " Receiver " (the Treasurer, that is) of the Monastery of St. Swithun's drew up in Edward III's reign, it is shown that the Down-land manors of Littleton, Easton, Compton, Chilbolton, and Wonston, raised the greater part of their income from wool, while such manors as Crondall, in the heath-country, had very few sheep. Merchants from Venice, leaving their galleys at Southampton, travelled through Hampshire, buying up any wool which was not needed for the looms of Winchester, or Alton, or Andover.

The " open-field " system of cultivation, as this arrangement in unfenced strips was called, has disappeared so completely that hardly a trace is now left. The name " Lynch ", however—still to be found in " Lynch " Hill at Whitchurch, at Alton, and at other places—reminds us of the strips or terraces called " lynches ", that came between the narrow threads of turf. Fortu
are maps old enough to show the ancient strips. The old map of part of Whitchurch on p. 101 shows the strips as they appeared shortly before they were converted into modern fields.

Let us turn now to the cultivators of the manor, the " villeins " as they are generally called. What was their work, and how did they gain a living ? For answer, let us see how John the Carter fared at Hurstbourne Priors, and William of Lynham at Aldershot. These examples may be taken as fair illustrations of villeins' duties.

John the Carter, we learn, holds a house standing within a small paddock on land at Hurstbourne Priors, which belongs to St. Cross' Hospital, Winchester. John holds also three acres of land in one open field, and three in another, all in scattered half-acre strips. For the land that he holds he pays partly in money partly in service to the lord (the Master of the Hospital); each year he pays eighteenpence, and in addition, he must spend one day in shearing his lord's sheep " and shall have nothing "; another day in hoeing the lord's corn, " and shall have

his dinner once in the day, that is to say, bread and ale, and two messes, flesh, fish or cheese." Each day he is to bring a man with him. So also must he do for one day's haymaking, and two " bind-days " (that is, sheaf-binding). One day he must spend in reaping the lord's corn, and he might have for himself one sheaf of barley " by custom ". For his " church-scot ", or church-dues, he pays three hens and one cock every feast of St. Martin. He must drive cattle to Winchester for the use of the Hospital when they are wanted and may have his dinner there. But he is not free, he must keep to his land; nor can he marry his son or his daughter, or sell a foal or a calf, without his lord's permission.

William of Lynham at Aldershot (then called " Alresshate ") lives on a manor held by the monks of Winchester. He holds from them as much as twenty-four acres. More services are demanded of him than of John the Carter. He must plough two acres of the lord's land by custom, and one extra acre ready for winter sowing. Three more acres must be ploughed for spring sowing, and the land ploughed has also to be harrowed. Then William has to weed his lord's land for six days, to help in mowing and carrying the lord's hay, to fence a meadow, to reap five acres at Crondall, to find four men for one day's harvest work at Sutton, and another man at Crondall for two days. He must help to carry the corn " and shall thresh $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of corn, and shall convey it to Winchester, and shall set up 16 ' pooks ' of corn, five sheaves in each, and he shall carry material for erecting and repairing the manor buildings, and he cannot sell horse or ox without the lord's leave, nor give his daughter in marriage without a fine ".

William would get very little time for work on his own land, we should imagine! Yet all the villeins had their work arranged in this complicated detail, and we must remember that they had privileges as well as duties. The shepherd might get one lamb or one fleece, the swineherd one pig, the reaper a sheaf or two of corn. Often, as John the Carter could tell us, the lord had to supply food for his villeins when they were at work on his lands—

on his " demesne " as it was called. Thus the Abbot of Titchfield on one day in a haymaking week had to supply the haymakers with a good meal at three o'clock. Bread with broth, and two sorts of meat or fish were supplied, washed down by draughts of ale or cider. At supper the Abbot had to provide each man with a wheaten loaf and two herrings, or four pilchards, or one mackerel. On one other day he provided similar meals, and on three additional days the workers could demand a right hearty " feed ". Nor was this all. Those villeins who owned boats were obliged, if required, to carry the Abbot or any of the canons, or their servants across the Hamble. But if a villein were asked to go as far as Southampton, he could claim either fourpence or a good dinner ! It is clear that, even though a Hampshire lord could demand much work, the Hampshire countryman could often demand in return many a square meal. Gradually the villeins came to pay rent instead of performing all these duties, but the duties would still be set down against their names.

Who, you may well ask, managed all this complicated arrangement ? How was it possible for the lord to be sure that each villein did his proper work, when each man's duties were different from those of every other man ? One would think that a lord like the Bishop of Winchester, who held manors by the dozen, would find it quite impossible to supervise them all. As a matter of fact, in spite of all the complicated arrangements, most manors were very well managed. The foreman, who arranged the daily work of the labourers, and took charge of barns, cattle, ploughs, carts, and other manorial property, was the " reeve ". In each manor a reeve was elected, and his duties must have been very hard and thankless. An old book written in Saxon times, describes the work of a reeve as far back as a thousand years ago, and tells how the reeve must attend to his lord's interests, neglecting nothing, " even to a mouse-trap." Another writer, in the reign of Henry III speaks of the reeve's duties in seeing that the ploughs—the " demesne " plough, and the villeins'

plough—were yoked early in the morning, and that the land was properly ploughed and sown. Still later—in the days when William of Wykeham was carrying out his great works in Hampshire—the poet Chaucer described a reeve in a way that seems to make him live again before our eyes :

Well wist he, by the drought and by the rain,
The yielding of his seed and of his grain.
His lord's sheep, his neat [*cattle*], his dairy,
His swine, his horse, his store, and his poultry,
Was wholly in this reeve's governing,
And by his covenant gave the reckoning
Since that his lord was twenty year of age.

When a lord held a number of manors he would appoint a steward to manage them for him. Each year the reeve of every manor was called upon to present his account or "Computus" to the steward, showing in detail all the year's working. In Winchester Cathedral Library may still be seen a number of these documents, drawn up for the manors of the old Monastery. They are very elaborate and very carefully drawn up, and it is clear that they cannot have been the work of rough uneducated rustics. The reeve only gave the information ; trained "clerks" drew up the account.

Sometimes the manor had unexpected expenses to meet. The Computus of Hinton Ampner for 1345, shows the sum of 5*s.* 6*d.* spent "for various purveyors and others of the household of the King and Queen in preparation for their coming". Another 10*s.* is set down as "gifts to the purveyors so that they should do no damage within the manor". The King, Edward III, was on his way to Southampton, to assemble there the army that won the battle of Crécy. The "purveyors" who went before him to provide for the needs of his great retinue were not very particular, it seems, whether they did or did not pay for the provisions they took.

But, you may say, how was the actual working of the manor carried on ? As we have already heard, the reeve acted as foreman. But twice a year (in April and

October) the lord's steward came to hold in the Manor House the manorial court. To the Hall of the Manor House came all the tenants who owed "suit and service" at the court, either in person or represented by their "tithingman", the head of the tithing or division to which they belonged. Standing in groups about the rush-strewn floor, or seated upon rough benches, they waited for the steward—accompanied by his "clerks" carrying inkhorn, pens, and parchment—to seat himself at his table. Then they "presented" the business of the court, though not merely as witnesses. For every matter brought forward was settled by custom, and it was the duty of the whole court to decide what the custom was in each case. As the business proceeded the busy pens of the clerks entered every item on the Court Roll, and to this day many thousands of these Court Rolls exist, gathered from all parts of England. Let us take at random from the Hampshire Court Rolls, some examples of the kind of business done. Tithings that failed to send representatives are fined 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or 6*s.* 8*d.* At Crondall, in Edward I's reign, Alice de Somerford is fined 6*d.* for cutting down an oak without permission, and several others are also fined 6*d.* for allowing their cattle to stray over the corn-lands. The same sum Gilbert de Cruce has to pay for a fight with William Sired. In another place we hear of fines on Richard Fynley who "drew blood from William Styfe", on Henry Knight and Robert Grant as "common quarrellers and disturbers of the King's peace", and (at Wootton St. Lawrence) on Agnes Mason and Elizabeth Poynder as "common scolds, who had a scolding match with the wives of Thomas Hunt and Henry Johnson and divers other neighbours". (We are not told why Agnes and Elizabeth should have received punishment while the other scolders went free.) Frequently butchers were fined for their high prices, brewers for their weak ale, and bakers for their short weight. In fact, a tenant had much more chance of being fined than of escaping. Take the case of Wootton St. Lawrence. On the manor were fifty-one tenants, yet of these, thirty-four were fined at one court for various offences.

But the court did not deal with offences alone. It dealt also with matters of business. When a villein died his widow came to court and paid a fine so that she might take over his land; new tenants paid fines on entering into their holdings, and, occasionally we hear of such transactions as :—

"Alard the shepherd (of Crondall) pays 4*s*. for Alice, his daughter, to be married *without* the lord's manor."

"Julia Thurgood pays 2*s*. for Avicia, her daughter, to be married *within* the lord's manor."

As the lord would not lose the services of Avicia and her children, her mother paid only half the amount of the fine that was paid by Alard.

Thus was the business of the manor carried on in the distant Middle Ages. Even now, the old courts, generally called "Leet" Courts, are held in some places. The steward of the Lord of the Manor of Portchester, for example, still summons the Court Leet of the Manor. Little business is done, however, and the chief part of the proceedings is the dinner to which the members of the "court" sit down. Perhaps other Hampshire manors can show a "court" still alive. At East Meon the ancient Court House, built in the fifteenth century, where the Steward of the Bishop of Winchester held the court, may still be seen.

As the Middle Ages passed away, the villeins performed fewer and fewer services for their lord, and were allowed to pay rents instead. They thus became more like the "free tenants", who were to be found, even in early times, on most manors. At the same time the lords began to exchange their scattered strips for land all in one piece, and took to farming with paid labourers instead of villeins.

The Black Death, which carried off so many of the country people in 1349 left its marks in Hampshire. At Wootton in 1354 the Reeve was excused the payment of about £3 on account of lands that returned no rent, since they were "in the hand of the lord for lack of tenants, caused by the pestilence". In another chapter we shall hear more of the sufferings of Hampshire people from "The Death".

But we must leave the stewards and the reeves, the "villeins" and the "cottars" (cottagers) of the country, and turn now to the burgesses and merchants in the towns.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMONS

(2) The People of the Towns

Hampshire is a county of small towns. Many, like Titchfield, Kingsclere, Whitchurch, Fordingbridge, are very difficult to class. If they *are* towns, they are, nevertheless, very small ones; and yet, we feel, they are too large to be insulted by the title of "village". Now, if we do not find it easy, even in these days, to draw the line sharply between "town" and "village", how much harder must it have been in the Middle Ages, when the Hampshire towns were springing up? Every ancient town has grown out of a still more ancient village, and as we follow out the history of a place we find it impossible to mark the exact date when the village became a town. In these days we should say at once that one great difference between a town and a village is to be found in the work done by the inhabitants—that the people of the villages are engaged in agriculture, and those of the towns in commerce and manufactures. But the early towns were quite as much places of agriculture as places of trade. They had their common fields, for example, like those of the manors. Many a Hampshire town still has fragments of these common fields remaining as public lands. Southampton has great stretches, once outside the ancient walls, but now in the heart of the town. Again, even after the Middle Ages were long past, the town courts of places like Portsmouth, Southampton, Lymington, or Basingstoke, made rules for the management of the town fields, appointed "Haywards" for the hedges, "Hogwards" for the pigs, "Herdsmen" for the cattle, and "Pinders" to attend to the common Pound. Many towns

preserved this agricultural character until about a hundred years ago.

There was not always a difference even in size between a town and a village, and, though there was a difference in methods of government, we cannot say quite clearly what that difference was. Let us remember, then, that in this chapter several places may be mentioned as towns, which may be described almost equally well as large villages.

Domesday Book (1086) is the first record that gives us any clear picture of a Hampshire town. Even that mentions only one—Southampton. Winchester, the royal city, was reserved for a special survey, made about twenty years afterwards. No other place in the county can then have had any real claim to be called a town at all. Even of Southampton, *Domesday Book* tells us very little. It was a Royal Borough, in which the king "had seventy-six men", who paid him rents and rendered him services. The great county landowners—men like Hugh de Port—owned houses in Hampton. In some cases these would be places of call, where the owners could lodge for a time on their journeys to or from Normandy ; in others they would be the dwelling-houses of the men whom great landowners often had to maintain for the defence of the borough. The town was growing rapidly as a result of the Norman Conquest, for, "after King William came into England, there settled in Hampton sixty-five men of French birth, and thirty-one English." Yet of the two Hampshire towns, Royal Winchester was by far the larger. Long before the Conquest the city had its own "wic-reeve" (or town-reeve), as Governor, and London alone paid a higher "aid" to the king than did Winchester.

Southampton, with its traders in wool and wine and war-materials, and Winchester, with its armourers and moneyers, its parchment-makers and weavers, soon became powerful enough to win fresh privileges from the Crown. In the early Norman days the collector of the king's taxes in a borough was the County Sheriff. Now, as the sheriff was required to pay over a fixed amount to the king each

year, as the "farm" of the borough, it was to his interest to extort every extra penny he could, for all above the fixed sum was his own. So many were the oppressions which the burghers suffered at the sheriff's hands, that, when Henry II became king, every town was trying to secure the right of paying the "farm" straight into the king's exchequer, so that the sheriff might be kept out altogether. Henry and his successors more and more needed money; their subjects in the towns had more and more money to supply. So we find Henry II, Richard, and John, granting Charters of Liberties to towns in return for increased payments of hard cash. The charter granted by Henry II to his men of Winchester will show us what the townsmen were trying to secure. The King allows them :—

"All the liberties and customs which they had in the time of King Henry my grandfather. And I order that they shall have and hold all their properties, incomes, and estates, according to the customs of the city . . . and if any dues have been unjustly levied in time of war (i.e. Stephen's war) let them be abolished. And all such men as shall come to that city with their goods, from whatever place, whether foreigners or others, shall come, sojourn, and depart under my protection, paying the proper dues."

The same king, "to his reeves and ministers of Hampton" declares :—"I ordain that my men of Hampton shall have and hold their guild and all their liberties and customs by land and by sea in as good, peaceable, just, free, quiet, and honourable a manner as they had the same . . . in the time of King Henry my grandfather."

Can we not see quite clearly what these men of Winchester and "Hampton" wanted and were prepared to pay for handsomely? They desired freedom to trade and acquire wealth, security for their property from the exactions of the king's officers, the right to impose duties on those who bought and sold in the town (especially on strangers), and protection from the lawless robber-barons from whom they had suffered so much in Stephen's reign.

Who were these early fighters for the liberties of their town? The Southampton Charter, just given, and a Win-

chester charter older than the one spoken of above, provide an answer. They were the men of the Merchant Guild; the society to which all the chief men of the town belonged. For the "merchants" included those who manufactured goods, as well as those by whom goods were bought and sold. The weavers and "fullers", whose workshops and mills lined the banks of the Itchen at Winchester, the tanners, armourers, parchment-makers, shoemakers, and other tradesmen of that city, belonged to a Merchant Guild, just as much as the exporters of wool and importers of wine at the port of Southampton. Now, as soon as these bodies of traders and craftsmen gained the right to manage so much of the business of the town for themselves, it was necessary to improve and extend the arrangements for town government. Consequently, very soon after the Merchant Guilds had won their charters, we hear of a new officer, more important even than the aldermen who were at the head of the guilds. This was the "Mayor"—a name which the chief magistrate of a town has kept from that day to this. There was a Mayor at Southampton as early as the year 1217, and possibly one at Winchester even earlier. But the Mayor of Winchester had not the whole city under his control. For on the southern and eastern sides, around the Bishop's Castle of Wolvesey, lay the "Soke", the portion under the bishop's jurisdiction. It was not until the year 1835 that the Bishops of Winchester ceased to appoint their "Bailiffs of the Soke"—officers quite independent of the Mayor.

Winchester and Southampton far outstripped other places in the county. But many smaller communities were, nevertheless, growing in population and wealth, and as soon as they could, they obtained for themselves privileges like those of the two favoured towns. Basingstoke, Andover, Portsmouth, Alton, and Odiham were communities on royal manors which secured certain "town" liberties from the king during the thirteenth century. Whitchurch, Fareham, and Alresford gained liberties from their lord, the Bishop of Winchester. Romsey grew up to secure rights from the abbess of the

great nunnery. Lymington and Christchurch grew under the fostering care of the Earls of Devon; and the Earls of Gloucester, Lords of the Manor of Mapledurham, granted charters to Petersfield. In addition to these places, which actually did become "boroughs", there were several other places which almost succeeded in doing so—Kingsclere and Selborne, two more king's manors; Havant and Bishop's Waltham, belonging to the Bishop; Wherwell and Titchfield, great "abbey" manors; and Ringwood and Fordingbridge, two "Forest" manors. So we were right to describe Hampshire as a county of small towns.

A whole book might be written about each one of the smaller Hampshire boroughs. Those readers who live in one of these small but ancient towns should search out its history for themselves, should find out why the town grew in such a spot at all, what industry or what natural advantages caused the population to gather there, who was the lord from whom liberties were gained, what those liberties were and when they were secured. In this chapter there is space to mention only a few examples.

Basingstoke grew up at the important point where the main western road from London was crossed by the main northern road from Southampton and Winchester. What was then true of the roads is still true of the railways, as you may easily see from the position of Basingstoke on a railway map of Hampshire. A large area around Basingstoke was controlled by that town, and, with so much coming and going, and the frequent presence of great persons, the town grew in importance. Henry III handed over the manor to his "proved men of Basingstoke" for a yearly rent of £80. That is, instead of sending his sheriff or bailiff to collect dues and hold courts in the town—he allowed the townsmen to elect their *own* bailiffs, to hold their *own* courts, and collect their *own* dues.

Andover, another royal manor, occupying in the west a position very similar to that of Basingstoke in the east, gained its town privileges even earlier. Henry II had allowed his men of Andover their Merchant Guild, and

liberties similar to those enjoyed by the citizens of Winchester. King John, who often stayed at or near Andover, granted charters to the town, so that the men of Andover " held the manor " in their own hands, just as the men of Basingstoke did a few years later.

Alton was held generally by a member of the royal family, on condition of its supplying three fully armed knights when called upon. The mother and the wife of Edward I were among its owners, and it was from these royal holders that Alton men gradually obtained privileges similar to those of Basingstoke.

Portsmouth, now by far the largest town on the South Coast, is modern compared with some of the places we have mentioned. The whole history of Portsmouth has been very closely bound up with the history of our French wars ; and so it does not surprise us that the town was founded at the very outset to be an arsenal and a naval base for use in the wars of the early Plantagenets. For a long time Portchester Castle and Manor overshadowed the little group of poor fishermen's huts that stood on the site of Portsmouth. Henry II was the first to use Portsmouth as a starting-point for expeditions to France. When his son Henry raised a revolt in Normandy in 1173, it was from Portsmouth as well as Southampton that English troops set out. Richard and John both used Portsmouth, and John, especially, built docks, strengthened the defences, and furthered the growth of the town. Richard was the first to give the town a charter, but for many years its growth was checked by the influence of Southampton. For, until about a hundred years ago, Portsmouth was *within* the " port of Southampton ".

Of the Bishop's towns, Alresford was the chief. Bishop de Lucy, who held it during the reigns of Richard and John, was the town's greatest benefactor. He it was who made the Itchen navigable between Alresford and Winchester, and formed the great Pond as a storage reservoir ; who gave the town a market and a new market-place, and who laid the foundations of that prosperity which was soon to make Alresford the third town in Hampshire. Under their bishop-lords, the men

of Alresford enjoyed privileges quite as numerous as those of their brethren at Alton or Basingstoke.

Fareham and Whitchurch were both small boroughs belonging to the bishop, and their history seems to have been very uneventful.

Romsey secured market-holding rights from the abbess in 1262, but, like Basingstoke, the town did not become a fully-developed borough with Mayor and Corporation until the time when James I granted a charter.

Of Lymington and Christchurch we have already spoken. Like Alresford or Fareham they were "demesne" boroughs, that is, boroughs on the "demesne" or domain of a lord, the land which he held for himself.

Petersfield is a good example of a borough in the hands of a lord. In the case of Petersfield we discover that a borough might be situated within a manor and yet be quite separate from the manor in many ways. Petersfield lay in the manor of Mapledurham, and just as a royal borough like Southampton tried to free itself from the exactions of the king's officer—the sheriff—so did Petersfield try to protect itself against the steward of the Earls of Gloucester, who were Lords of the Manor of Mapledurham. We have heard already of Earl Robert of Gloucester, who fought so well for Matilda against Stephen. It was the son of this Earl Robert who granted to the men of Petersfield a charter in which he allowed them liberties and a guild and free customs, such as were enjoyed by Winchester.

The growth of the Hampshire boroughs is clearly shown by the fact that from many of them Edward I summoned burgesses to those early parliaments for which he did so much. To these parliaments every shire was to send two knights, and every borough which received the king's "writ" or order was required to send two burgesses. Many of the smaller boroughs declined the doubtful honour, for not only had each borough to pay all the expenses of its two representatives, but it was feared that by means of the representatives the king might be able to get at the pockets (or whatever served for pockets) of the burghers. Even the larger boroughs usually chose to

be represented by some wealthy knight or nobleman who lived near the town, and who was prepared to pay his own expenses.

The " First Complete and Model Parliament " of 1295 contained burgesses from Winchester, Southampton, Portsmouth, Andover, Alresford, Overton, Alton, and Basingstoke. In 1297 burgesses were summoned only from the first three. A few years later Odiham was added to the list. In 1307 Fareham, Christchurch, and Petersfield in addition were called upon to send members, but declined. As this Parliament of 1307 was held at Carlisle, Edward's base of operations against the Scotch, we can understand the reluctance of the Hampshire burgesses. A long and dangerous journey of over 300 miles was too much either for representatives to undertake, or for their fellow townsmen to pay for. Indeed, not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth did the smaller Hampshire boroughs send up their M.P.'s with any regularity.

It would require several chapters to describe fully the life of the townspeople during the Middle Ages. Yet we ought not to leave the Hampshire towns without a glance at Winchester and Southampton, for they were two of the chief towns in the south of England.

Winchester, even after it ceased to be the capital, remained a place of note. Not only was it a great ecclesiastical centre, but within it were many weavers of woollen cloth—of " quilts ", or " challons ", or " burrells " as the different kinds or lengths were called. A considerable fish trade was carried on, partly in salmon and trout from the Itchen, partly in herrings, lampreys, and other fish from Southampton Water. With so many ecclesiastics, bound to keep their " fish-days ", the fishmongers of Winchester could carry on a steady business. Then, once a year, St. Giles' Hill was the scene of the great fair held within the bishop's " Soke ". Thither came buyers and sellers, not only from all parts of England, but from France, Germany, and distant Italy. While the fair lasted, the shopkeepers and craftsmen of Winchester, Southampton, and other places for miles around, were compelled to suspend business, or else to set up a stall in

the fair itself. The bishop, of course, received all the rents and dues, and in the Court of Pie-Powder (i.e. *pieds poudreux*—dusty feet) his officer dealt smart justice to thief, cutpurse, and trickster, as soon as they were brought before him, all "dusty-footed" as they were. Other boroughs might hold fairs, too, for, in those distant days, there were few other means of obtaining articles not produced in the neighbourhood. But no fair in Hampshire or anywhere else in the south could approach for size and activity the city of booths and stalls which sprang up every year at Winchester, in the name of St. Giles, the patron saint of travellers. Langland, who wrote the long poem of *Piers Plowman*, in the fourteenth century, makes the ploughman say :—

> At Wy and at Winchester I went to the fair.

("Wy" may mean Weyhill, where a great fair has been held for centuries.)

In the same poem, Langland, a Worcestershire man himself, shows that he knew still more about St. Giles' Fair. For he speaks of a time to come :

> When through the Pass of Alton
> Poverty might pass
> Without peril of robbing.

The "Pass of Alton", a narrow roadway between thick woods, was a favourite haunt of robbers, for it lay right on the London road by which stout merchants, laden with wealth and merchandise, might pass. Men-at-arms were sent by the bishop's officers to hold this pass during the fair. It was because of such dangerous spots that Edward I ordered all brushwood and other "cover" to be cleared off for a bowshot's width on either side of the king's highway.

As the Middle Ages drew to a close, town officers multiplied, and town rules and regulations increased throughout England. At Winchester to this day is kept a great parchment roll, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, whereon an industrious clerk, early in Henry VI's reign, wrote down all he knew

of the city customs. A long list of officers included the mayor, two coroners, two constables, several aldermen and beadles, weighers, chamberlains, sergeants (a kind of police), and officials to regulate trade. The gorgeous processions, the solemn meetings, the formal elections, the services of the religious " guilds " with their candles, incense, and musicians, the procession of the guilds on

THE WOOL HOUSE, SOUTHAMPTON

Built in the fourteenth century. It stands near the old quay. The wool could thus be shipped with little trouble after having been weighed here.

Corpus Christi Day—all these, added to the stately magnificence of the cathedral and the other great churches, must have made Winchester life very picturesque and varied during the later Middle Ages.

Southampton was a place of more business and of less display than Winchester. For a long time Winchester was the larger town. In 1212 it was able to supply forty armed men, whereas Southampton supplied only twenty. But commerce and warfare together helped the fortunes of the port. From its quays great sacks of wool were

shipped abroad, after they had been weighed on the town "tron", or weighing-beam in the town Wool-house, and had yielded the special wool-tax to the king. Southampton was the wool-port, though Winchester had the "staple" or wool-market. The ships that received the wool had brought, most probably, wines from Bordeaux or cloth from Flanders. For in Southampton lived Gascons who imported the wines of Aquitaine, and Flemings who exported wool for the looms of Flanders. In the fifteenth century, Italians from Venice and Florence shared in the trade, exchanging the spices, silks, and wines of the East for the Hampshire wool which they carried to Flanders.

Like Winchester, Southampton had its little army of officers, and, on a smaller scale, its solemn pageantries and ceremonies of church and town.

But we must leave our Hampshire towns for awhile until we come to Tudor times. For now it is time to turn from peasant's hut and burgher's dwelling to discover what we can about the knights and barons who lived in Hampshire mansions and halls.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LORDS

Barons and Knights

Strictly speaking, the barons and knights of our title are not the same as the "Lords", in "Clergy, Lords, and Commons". For the Lords of Parliament—those specially summoned by the king to attend—did not include all the barons, and no knights were ever summoned to sit as "Lords". So, in this chapter, instead of discussing only those Hampshire barons who actually did sit as "Lords", we will deal generally with the great landholders of Hampshire in the Middle Ages, whether they were "Lords of Parliament" or not.

The greatest of all Hampshire barons was really the

Bishop of Winchester. So important was he that we must allow him a whole chapter by himself. The bishop, the monasteries, and the king held so much of the land in the county that there was hardly room for another great baron. Indeed, only one other baronial family stands out above the rest, and that was the family of de Port, in their Castle of Basing.

The Conqueror had settled Hugh de Port in Hampshire with fifty or sixty manors, intending, perhaps, to make him the guardian of the great highway to Normandy. After Hugh's time, the only de Port who played a part in history was the Adam de Port, whose name will always be connected with the rebuilding of Warnford Church. An inscription in the church wall still calls upon worshippers to bless the name of Adam their benefactor. Close by, in Warnford Park are the remains of an ancient house, where once lived the Mabel de St. John who became Adam de Port's wife. (By a very natural mistake the ruins are often wrongly said to be those of *King* John's House.) The descendants of these two took the name of St. John, a name still preserved in Sherborne St. John, near their house at Basing.

Adam was a terrible thorn in the flesh of his master Henry II. After the murder of Becket and the revolt of Henry's young son, Adam was one of those who joined the standard of the rebellious barons. But the king's influence in the county was too strong for him; he was outlawed and compelled to flee. Two years after, Henry had meekly taken his scourging from the Canterbury monks, and while his back was still smarting the news came that the Justiciar had captured, at Alnwick in Northumberland, the main supporter of the revolt in Britain. This was William the Lion, King of Scotland. Among the friends of William who escaped from the battlefield of Alnwick was Adam de Port. For six more years he wandered, a hunted man, far from his Hampshire estates. But in 1180 the king allowed him to return on payment of 1,000 marks, and forfeiture of his estates in Herefordshire. Adam had learnt his lesson—as most rebels did when Henry II was their teacher. He settled

down quietly, and founded a great Priory at Sherborne (now Monk Sherborne). In the Priory Church (now known as Pamber Priory) still lies the wooden figure of a mail-clad warrior, believed to be the effigy of Adam himself. We are glad to know that he lived to be a trusted servant of King John, for in 1213 we find him Keeper of Southampton Castle.

In the west of the county at Mottisfont and King's Somborne lay the lands of another Anglo-Norman baron, who, unlike Adam de Port, was a faithful servant of the Crown all his life. This was William Briwere (or Brewer), under Henry II, Sheriff of Devon, Keeper of the Forest of West Bere, and at one time, a Justice Itinerant—one of those trusted travelling judges whom Henry had instituted as the forerunners of our Assize Judges. Richard I made him sheriff of six counties, and when adversity came, William showed that he could be true to the family to whom he owed so much. For to King John he was a truer friend than such a faithless master deserved. During the rising of the barons William's fear of his angry fellow-barons became so great that for a very brief space he cast in his lot with them. But in the war that followed the signing of Magna Charta William led an army for the king, and when John died he became a staunch supporter of the child-king Henry III. Briwere left behind him a memorial in the priory of Mottisfont, which he founded, as Adam de Port had founded Sherborne, for a colony of his favourite Norman monks.

Henry III's reign saw a great invasion of England by the French relations and friends of the king. But John, his father, had been a great importer of foreigners too, and one family at least of John's French friends settled in Hampshire. This was the family of Des Roches, who came from Poitou, a province south of the Loire, once acquired by Henry II. Peter des Roches, made Bishop of Winchester in 1207, is the best known of the family. For years he was a strong opponent—stronger even than William Briwere—of all attempts by the barons to extort liberties from the king. He it was who advised the king not to sign the Charter, and to disregard it when it was

signed: who accompanied the king as he fled from Winchester before the advance of the barons headed by Louis of France: who persuaded the son Henry III—himself born at Winchester—to follow in the footsteps of his obstinate father: who found rich estates, wealthy heiresses, or comfortable Church offices, for his needy friends and relations. A nephew, Geoffrey des Roches, by a fortunate marriage, became Lord of North Fareham, and Roche Court still preserves his name. Soon the family became a wealthy one, having broad lands at Steventon, Bradley, Candover, Stoke Charity, and Hurstbourne.

Newton Valence, near Selborne, should remind us of another foreign fortune-hunter. This was William de Valence, half-brother to Henry III. He became Earl of Pembroke, led part of the king's forces against Simon de Montfort, and later was a tower of strength to Edward I in the conquest of Wales. William, at least, did something for the land of his adoption. Would that we could say the same of his younger brother Aymer de Valence, who was thrust into the bishopric of Winchester, though but twenty-three years of age, and only ordained to the lowest orders in the Church—the orders of an "acolyte". The abuses which Henry allowed to creep into the Church, and the oppressions of which the history-book has so much to tell, are well illustrated in the story of Aymer's election. As the bishop was really abbot of the Cathedral Monastery, it was the monks of St. Swithun who had to elect him. So anxious was Henry to place his gay young friend in so splendid an office, that he himself came to Winchester, seated himself on the bishop's throne, and coaxed, threatened, and bullied the monks into electing Aymer, vowing he "would confound them one and all" if they refused. Then began a time of suffering and trouble for the monks under the oppressions of their bishop. Gay and pleasure-loving, he filled the city with his festivities and brilliant companies, while upon the monks he heaped every indignity. Once he even shut them up in the cold cathedral for three days; he robbed them of their revenues; thrust in upon them unworthy men as monks; and when some of the older

monks left in disgust, prevailed upon the king to harass and pursue them wherever they went. But in 1258 came release. The barons of England, roused to action by all the king's misdeeds, forced upon him the "Provisions of Oxford" with the requirement that native Englishmen only should be employed in important services. Aymer fled with many of his friends, and never returned.

But the new-comers were not all so worthless as Aymer, nor so tyrannical as Bishop Peter des Roches. It must never be forgotten that one of Henry's closest friends for a long time was the foreigner Simon de Montfort, who earned from the English themselves the title of "Sir Simon the Righteous". Henry had given his own sister in marriage to Simon, and frequently they stayed at the royal castle of Odiham. In the dark days of the Barons' Wars, when Simon led the barons against the king, Odiham more than once was the scene of a concentration of de Montfort's friends. He and his wife Eleanor were here in 1265, to prepare for the coming of the captive king and Prince Edward. Shortly afterwards the earl and his royal prisoners moved off to the west, where Simon was soon to die the death of a soldier on the field of Evesham.

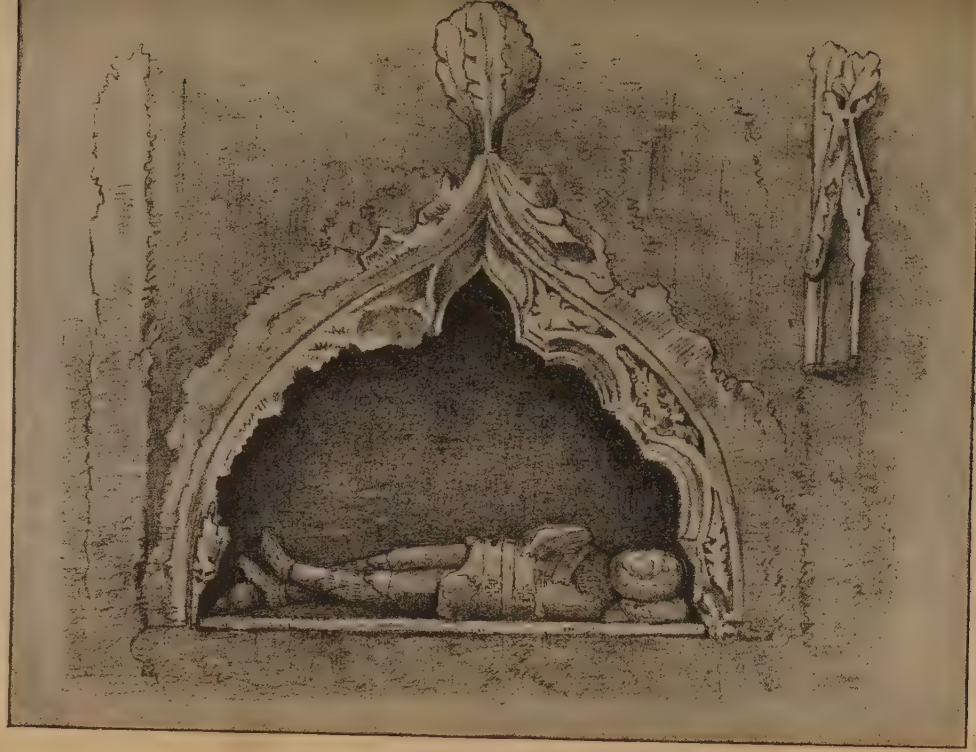
The wars of Henry III with his barons brought into prominence another famous character, who, unlike Simon, was a genuine Hampshire man. This was Adam Gurdon or Gordon. After Simon's death, the barons of the victorious party joined in a wild scramble for the forfeited estates of his family and friends. Driven thus to desperation, the "Disinherited", as they were called, held on as outlaws, in woods, in castles, or in any other strong position that offered itself. Adam Gurdon, who had perhaps been one of the Odiham garrison for Simon, is said to have held out in the forests around Selborne, though some writers say that the dense beech-woods of the Chiltern Hills were the scene of his exploits. But whether in Hampshire or Buckinghamshire, Adam's achievements came to an end very soon, for he was hunted down by the young Prince Edward, who overcame him in a hand-to-hand tussle.

Some years after Adam was back again in royal favour, for Edward had made him Keeper of the Forests of Alice Holt and Woolmer.

During the reigns of the three Edwards Hampshire became, in an increasing degree, the adopted home of many foreign knights and nobles from Gascony. In 1294, Edward I was induced to surrender his province of Gascony for a brief period into the hands of Philip of France. Philip refused to return it, and the wars and troubles which followed were so disastrous to Edward's Gascon friends that many of them came to England to rebuild their shattered fortunes. Thus Gascony took the place of the lost province of Normandy; Bordeaux was what Rouen had been. The extent of the Southampton wine trade at this period illustrates the close relations that then existed between our county and the distant province of the south.

Was it not quite fitting, then, that Edward's trusty lieutenant in Gascony should have been a Hampshire baron—John de St. John, of the great Basing family? Sent out in 1293, he strengthened the garrisons, won over the people, and, when war with Philip broke out, kept the Gascons loyal to Edward their king. But after two years of hard fighting, he was ambushed and captured by a French force. Carried as prisoner to Paris, he remained there for two more years, and his enemies, we are told, rejoiced over him as the Philistines over Samson. By pawning four of his Hampshire manors he raised money to pay the large ransom which the French demanded for his release. Hardly had he set foot again in England, when Edward sent for him to serve in the Scottish Lowlands, where the English were gradually securing a strong foothold. But warfare, hard work, and privation had told on him, and he died in 1302. His name deserves to be placed side by side with that of the defender of Basing House (see Chapter XXIII) as a loyal and devoted servant of his king.

As a contrast with the heroic St. John we may take a knight of East Meon, who, in the reign of Edward II, took advantage of the king's weakness and the disturbed



EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT, ST. MARY BOURNE
Probably a figure of a Crusader, since the legs are crossed.

state of the country to terrorize the eastern part of Hampshire. The story of this knight—Robert le Ewer—shows how lawless and wild such a man's doings might be, even in days when law and order were much more respected than they had once been. This terrible Robert had held offices under the king, but, falling into disfavour, was ordered to give them up. Immediately he plunged madly into all kinds of wild excess and depredation. When the king's officers came to arrest him, he broke away, and vowed that he would slay those who would take him, and cut them up limb by limb, even if it were in the king's presence! In spite of this insult the king made peace with him and restored him as Keeper of Odiham Castle. Very soon afterwards he was again dismissed for refusing to serve the king in Scotland. Nothing daunted, the bold Robert attempted to seize Odiham Castle, but, failing in that design, he laid waste the king's lands in the neighbourhood. At last he was brought to book, for he was arrested and tortured in prison; his death following soon after. His wife fled for Sanctuary to St. Mary's (Nunnaminster) at Winchester, where two of her sisters were nuns. The sanctuary was violated, and she too was dragged forth to suffer imprisonment. Fortunately for Hampshire Robert le Ewer was a type of ruffian more common on the Scottish and Welsh borders than in the more civilized south.

One other famous Hampshire family of the days of the Edwards was so closely connected with English history that we must not pass it by unnoticed. This was the family of Brocas. In far off Gascony, on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees, lay the ancestral lands of the Brocas clan. Philip's seizure of Gascony, and the wars which followed ruined them, so that three brothers of the house of Brocas came to seek their fortunes in England, where their countryman Piers Gaveston was enjoying such a brilliant career. Of these three, John became the founder of the Hampshire fortunes of his house. Under Edward III he became a trusted servant of the king, Warden of his Castles, Keeper of Forests, and Master of the King's Horse. When Edward was

preparing his great array for the French wars, John de Brocas collected horses for the cavalry ; when the king took the wool trade into his own hands, John de Brocas was one of those who assisted the king in carrying on the trade and collecting the profits ; and when Edward, ceasing to rely on the old feudal army, adopted the method of raising troops by commissioning certain captains to raise their own companies, John de Brocas was among those who raised a large company for the king's service. For he was at Crécy, and at the siege of Calais he commanded a troop consisting of one knight, fourteen squires, and twenty-four archers.

But long before this he had been rewarded with an estate at Beaurepaire near Basingstoke, and for centuries his descendants held the place. Other estates came to him at Basingstoke, Tadley, Bramley, Sherborne, Sherfield, Chinham, and Froyle. After two more campaigns in France he returned to his Hampshire estates a knight, a royal pensioner, and a rich man.

Sir John was succeeded by his son Sir Bernard, who seems to have been much like the " verray parfit, gentil knyght " of whom the poet Chaucer speaks. For we may say of Sir Bernard :

That fro the tymé that he first bigan
To riden out, he lovéd chivalrie,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie.
Ful worthy was he in his lordés werre,
And therto hadde he riden, no man ferre (i. e. farther).

Chaucer may have met Sir Bernard at Court, for the knight was a friend of the Black Prince, his supporter in warlike expeditions in France and Spain, his companion at the brilliant court of Edward III, and afterwards, the guide and friend of the Black Prince's son, Richard II. He died in 1397 and received the great honour of a tomb in Westminster Abbey. Those of you who have read Addison's account of Sir Roger de Coverley's visit to the Abbey will remember how very attentive Sir Roger was to the account of " the lord who had cut off the King of Morocco's head ". It was of Sir Bernard Brocas

that this extraordinary tale was told. Nothing is known of such a feat of arms, and the story arose, perhaps, from the strange crest which Sir Bernard adopted—the crowned head—" couped proper " as the heralds would say—of a *negro*, not a Moor.

A Hampshire Gentleman in the time of the Wars of the Roses
From the Brass of Thomas Hampton, at Stoke Charity (1483).

Sir Bernard's son, the second Sir Bernard, was also faithful to his king, Richard II, so faithful that he shared Richard's sad fate. He, with certain other knights headed a forlorn hope against the usurper Henry Bolingbroke, but was taken, carried to London, and executed at Tyburn. With his death the fortunes of the family of Brocas declined, though they still retained most of

the additional Hampshire estates, which had come to them by the marriage of Sir Bernard the First with the heiress Mary des Roches of Roche Court.

We could go on to tell of "many a knight, and many a squire", who upheld the honour of Hampshire through the Middle Ages. The long list might include D'Escures (or De Scures) of Nately Scures and Wickham. De Borhunte of Boarhunt, D'Andelys of St. Mary Bourne, Uvedale of Wickham, Foxley of Bramshill, Hampton of Stoke Charity, Syfrewast of Freefolk, Heriard of Herriard, Cuffaud of Basingstoke, De Popham of Popham, and Tichborne of Tichborne. Memorials of such knights and squires may be found in many a Hampshire church, those of Thruxton, Binstead, Pamber, Michelmersh, St. Mary Bourne, Stoke Charity, and Droxford among the number.

Enough has been said to show how honourable and how worthy a tradition our Hampshire lords and knights of the Middle Ages have left behind them. As we look at those stiff mail-clad figures lying rigid along ancient tombs, or outlined in plates of brass, let us try to recall the days when the knights who are imaged there served their king as keepers of his forests, guardians of his castles, and sheriffs of the county; or when, fully armed, and accompanied by their esquires and men-at-arms, they rode to do battle at Bannockburn or Crécy, or crossed Europe to follow Christian kings and princes in the Crusades. Their spirit let us hope is not dead. We shall see in later chapters how many more such men our county produced long after the Middle Ages were over.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CLERGY

Introductory Note

We come now to the third and last of the three "Estates of the Realm" in the England of the Middle Ages. This is the Estate of the Clergy, and there are few English counties which can show so many memorials of the clergy as Hampshire.

Perhaps we shall get the clearest idea of the religious life of Hampshire in those distant ages, if we consider its various branches separately. And the order in which we will take them shall be :

1. The Bishop.
2. The Monks and Friars.
3. The Parish Priests and their Churches.

(1) The Bishop

By this time we have come to understand that the Bishop of Winchester was more than a great officer of the Church. He was one of the chief barons in the southern counties. He was :

> Our good lord of Winchester, lord of the castles three,
> Of Farnham brave, and Merdon old, and goodly Wolvesey.

He was lord too, over many a manor within Hampshire and without, and on most of them he had a manor house. Moreover, the Bishop of Winchester was generally a great officer of State. Hardly any other bishopric could show such an array of statesmen among its bishops. The names of Orlton, Sandale, Wykeham, Beaufort, Waynflete, Fox, and Gardiner stand out most prominently in this company of statesmen-bishops.

An old writer of Queen Elizabeth's time in a book describing very fully the condition of England in his time, has a quaint paragraph about the see of Winchester, which will serve as a sort of text for this chapter. This writer (Hollinshed) says :

"And hereunto, if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriours, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimongers, and politike counsellors in temporal affairs to have—(I wote not by what secret working of the Divine Providence)—been placed here in Winchester since the foundation of the see."

It was customary in Hollinshed's day both to use strong language and to condemn very vigorously the

Church of pre-Reformation times. So we must make some allowance for Hollinshed's plain speaking. But his description does convey in a most picturesque manner a very vivid idea of the great position once held by the Winchester bishopric. There can be no doubt that one attraction for the "politike counsellors", and the high-born hypocrites, who sought to hold the see was its great wealth. A well-known story tells how a certain bishop of Winchester when offered the position of Archbishop of Canterbury, refused it with the excuse that "though Canterbury had the higher rack, Winchester had the deeper manger". Whether the story be true or not it was certainly the case that in the Middle Ages no bishop who reached the wealthy see of Winchester, ever wished to leave it. Winchester lost bishops by death, hardly ever by their removal to other places.

It is not easy to estimate with any exactness the vast income of the bishop in those days. Perhaps, if we put it at a sum equal to £70,000 a year of our money we shall be well within the mark. The king himself hardly had a greater revenue. In Hampshire alone, the bishop held the manors of Alverstoke, Ashmansworth, Bentley, Beauworth, Bishopstoke, Bishop's Sutton, Bishop's Waltham, Bitterne, Burghclere, Cheriton, Crawley, Droxford, East Meon, Hambledon, Havant, Highclere, Ecchinswell, Merdon, North Waltham, Twyford, and Wield; the boroughs of Alresford, Overton, and Fareham; property in the "Soke" around Wolvesey, and revenues from St. Giles's Fair. In addition he held rich lands in Wiltshire, Surrey, and Somerset—(Taunton was a rich Somerset possession)—and in Berks., Bucks., Oxon., Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire his estates were to be found. His town mansion was at Southwark, and the statesmen-bishops spent much of their time at a house so near to London.

For the management of these vast estates a whole regiment of stewards, bailiffs, reeves, and "clerks" was required. All the more important business would be attended to by the Bishop's Stewards, or by specially appointed clerics. A clever young man who wished to rise in the Church would have a much better chance if

he took service under the bishop than if he worked as a simple priest in a country parish.

The Bishop of Winchester was not only a great landed proprietor, but also a great officer of the Crown. The office he generally held was that of Lord Chancellor. Sandale, under Edward II; Orlton, Edendon, and Wykeham under Edward III; Beaufort under Henry VI; and Waynflete under Edward IV held this office. John of Stratford, who became bishop at the end of Edward II's reign, took a prominent part in the troubles connected with that unfortunate king's deposition. So, likewise, did Adam Orlton, who became bishop in 1333, after Stratford had been transferred to Canterbury. Bishop Fox was a great Foreign Minister to Henry VII. In fact, every Bishop of Winchester held some important office.

But, one may ask, if these great prelates had to manage vast estates, and to conduct the business of an important office of state, how could they do the true work of a bishop, the work of an "overseer"? It is to be feared that, sometimes, the work of the diocese was left to others, and abuses crept in. Yet, as is so often the case, the man who had most to do, did his work most thoroughly. Every bishop kept a great "Register", in which his clerks entered a record of all the official acts of the bishop. Many of these registers are still left, and from them we can judge of the care taken by each bishop to attend to the business of his diocese. Now no bishop seems to have been more zealous than John Sandale (1316–20), or William of Wykeham (1367–1404), both of whom held also the office of Lord Chancellor.

Let us look into one of these registers, and see what it can tell us of a bishop's work as the "overseer" of his diocese. First, we notice the numerous officers who are mentioned—the archdeacons who attend to much of the bishop's legal business, the bishop's chancellor (a kind of secretary), the treasurer, the vicar-general (another legal officer), the commissaries or executive officers, the bishop's "Proctor", or representative at the Court of Rome, and many other officials. Most of these would hold some benefice as their payment, but

the work of the benefice would be carried on by a poor chaplain or vicar, since the real holder must remain in attendance upon his bishop.

Then we notice the great number of different places at which the bishop stays. He is continually moving about, sometimes conducting a general "visitation" of his diocese; sometimes in attendance on the king; at other times passing between his Hampshire manors and Winchester House in Southwark. Bishop Sandale occasionally conducted affairs from places as far off as York, Leicester, Nottingham, or Huntingdon. Bishop William of Wykeham's Register shows him moving in 1392 from house to house—Southwark, Esher, Farnham in Surrey; Waltham, Marwell, Wolvesey, Highclere in Hants—and seldom staying more than a few days in one place.

Turning to the actual accounts of work, with which many a parchment was filled even in one bishop's lifetime, we find a record of very great activity. Here, perhaps, is a record of an ordination of priests, deacons, and acolytes, held at St. Mary's, Southampton, at St. Cross, Winchester, at Southwark, or at any other place convenient for the bishop. Below the list of names comes a record of licences issued by the bishop. Among them are licences to wealthy people to have private chapels; licences to rectors and vicars to be absent from their parishes in order to study at the University, to attend upon some great person, or to take up some office; licences to friars to preach and hear confessions; licences to lords or monasteries to take over the tithes of certain parishes. Here, too, are orders to backward tenants to be more ready in payment of tithes; accounts of the trials and punishments of offending clergy; and instructions to the clergy on many subjects and many occasions. If a new church were built, if a rector or vicar were instituted to a fresh benefice, if a monastery were inspected by the bishop or his official, a record must be made in the register.

Then the bishop frequently received "bulls" from the Pope, instructions from the archbishop, or Acts of Parliament touching the Church, and in every case he was expected to take action, and make proper records.

An active prelate like William of Wykeham took upon himself even more duties than the very heavy ones of Church government alone. Wykeham, for example, strove to check a growing tendency among the people to do ordinary business in fairs and markets on Sunday, and sternly ordered them to attend the services of their parish church. Again, when the French in 1370, threatened the south coast, Wykeham was active in calling upon his clergy in and around Southampton to take prompt measures for defence.

We have now gathered some idea of a bishop's work. Can we make the picture still more clear by learning something of his daily life ? The registers will again help us here. So that we may be sure that it is the *ordinary* life of the bishop that we are inquiring into, let us take for our example a bishop who never filled a great place in history—John Sandale who held the see from 1316 to 1320. When he died and the members of his household were dispersed, 106 servants received arrears of wages, and there were probably many others not mentioned in this list. Chief of those in the list was his seneschal or steward ; among others, besides " clerks ", were butlers, tailors, coachmen, porters, cooks, bakers, laundresses, pages and chamberlains, keepers and huntsmen. Wherever the bishop went his numerous household accompanied him. The great hall of the old palace of Bishop's Waltham, 65 feet long, or the still greater hall of Wolvesey can hardly have been too large for the goodly assemblage of guests, officers, and servants who dined there with " My Lord of Winchester ". To feed so great a company was no easy matter. John Sandale's accounts speak of the 1,053 head of poultry sent from the bishop's manors to London for the use of the bishop's household " against the feast of Christmas " ; and when this bishop died, the kitchen expenses of the " funeral baked meats " included the cost of 14 oxen, 78 sheep, 24 pigs, 22 calves, 8 swans, 140 geese, 240 fowls, 19 partridges, 206 pigeons, 1,300 eggs, great piles of fish, and various other eatables. The drink consumed included 320 gallons of wine, 695 gallons of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ale, and 448 of

William of Wykeham

" penny-ale ". No less than 84 bushels of corn were required for making the bread that was used. It needs little imagination to enable us to picture the huge feast this must have been. Guests with their attendants were present from all parts of England. Of course this occasion was not an ordinary one, but even on ordinary days the expenses of the bishop's household were such that only a kingly revenue like his could support them.

We speak elsewhere of the many mighty works of this long line of prince-bishops, for they have left too deep a mark on our Hampshire history to be dismissed in one brief chapter. But here let us notice that hardly one of them has failed to leave behind him *some* lasting memorial. Walkelin began and nearly completed the great cathedral : Gifford removed New Minster to Hyde Mead, and renamed it Hyde Abbey ; De Blois rebuilt Wolvesey and erected the great church of St. Cross ; De Lucy converted the upper Itchen into a navigable stream, made the great pond at Alresford, and built the beautiful Early English portion of the cathedral just behind the Great Screen ; Edendon commenced the rebuilding of the Minster from its western end ; Wykeham, the greatest of all the builders, rebuilt the whole nave of the Minster, founded the College, and added much to the episcopal manor-houses scattered over Hampshire ; Beaufort rebuilt St. Cross' Hospital, and gave the cathedral its beautiful Great Screen ; Fox added a delicate east end and set up the stone screens on either side of the choir. These are but a few of the works of the " rich monimongers ", and " politike counsellors " of whom worthy Hollinshed spoke so strongly. Though their day has gone never to return, and though a bishop now is much more a true " father in God ", and much less a great lord than they, we can but admire and marvel at the great works they have left behind them. Happily, the glory and grandeur of their great buildings have become better understood in recent years, and so the relics that Hampshire still possesses will be preserved, we hope, for many ages to come.

CHAPTER XV

THE CLERGY (*continued*)

(2) Monks and Friars

In Chapter VII mention was made of the introduction of stricter monastic rules in the tenth century by Ethelwold of Winchester. We read there of the way in which he first reformed his own cathedral monastery, and then, supported by his king, Edgar, turned to carry reforms into distant parts of England. The "Rule" under which Ethelwold and his party strove to place the English monks was the Benedictine Rule, so called because it had been drawn up by Benedict for the first great monastery of Western Europe, established in Italy in the sixth century.

The revival under Ethelwold gave Hampshire five large convents ("convent" may mean either monastery or nunnery) where the new form of Benedictine Rule was observed. These were the monasteries of St. Swithun (Old Minster) and New Minster (afterwards Hyde Abbey) at Winchester, and the nunneries at Romsey, Wherwell, and St. Mary's, Winchester (called Nunnaminster). These were all existing at the time of the Norman Conquest. After the Conquest, and during that part of the Middle Ages with which we are now dealing (roughly speaking, the period from 1100 to 1500), the number of religious houses in Hampshire was very much increased. In fact, it would be difficult to find any other English county which, in proportion to its size, possessed religious houses in such number and such wealth. Two reasons, among others, will help us to explain this; one is the great wealth of the Bishops of Winchester; the other is the close connexion existing between Hampshire and Normandy. Anglo-Norman kings and barons founded abbeys and priories in Hampshire either as independent houses or as daughter houses to some great Norman Abbey.

But before we go on to trace the rise of these numerous additions to the original five, it is necessary for us to

understand why new monasteries and nunneries should be needed at all. Now, in the Middle Ages, to be "religious" did not mean what it does now. The "religious" in those days were the men or women who had taken vows—vows of poverty, of piety, of obedience, and so forth—and had agreed to live together under a strict rule. The word "religious" is derived from a Latin word which means a bond or a tie, and the bond by which the early monks were held was such as to keep them quite apart from the world. In those dark centuries of European history, when Roman civilization had crumbled to pieces before the barbarians, and a twilight of ignorance and violence had settled over Europe, it was only within the walls of a monastery, where life and worship were reduced to strict rule and order, that men could live the life of religious devotion, and pray for the new birth of a world that was as yet too dark and stormy for them to live in. But a time came when the ways of men were milder, and strong kings were able to preserve order, even if their methods were rough and ready. Such a time arrived for England under the vigorous rule of her Norman kings, and it began to be felt by many that the true service of God lay not in the daily round of a Benedictine monastery, "without relation to the needs or sufferings of the world beyond its walls," but in some form of association which would enable men to live not for their little community alone, but for the needy, helpless, and suffering in the ordinary work-a-day world. So new types of communities began to appear, some of them consisting of men who still lived under a "rule", but claimed to do useful work in the world; others of men, generally attached to some great church, who, though they lived together, yet had no definite rule, and lived each on his own income. All who lived under a rule (or "regula") came to be called Regulars, while those clergy who lived under no rule, but worked daily in the ordinary world, "in saeculo" as it was called, were known as Seculars. It is of the Regulars, the "religious" in the old sense of the word, that we speak in this chapter.

A new order of regular canons, claiming to work for

those outside their own body, appeared in Hampshire in the reign of Henry I. These were the " Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine ", the Augustinians or Black Canons, who claimed (though wrongly) to follow a " Rule " drawn up by the great St. Augustine of Hippo in Africa. Henry I founded two priories for these canons—St. Denys, at Southampton, and another at Portchester, which was removed soon after to Southwick. Meanwhile at Twineham (now called Christchurch) some very irregular canons occupying a kind of monastery there, were removed by Baldwin de Redvers, who founded in their stead another house of Augustinians.

At about the same time another order, this time of regular monks, appeared in England. Far away in Eastern France, a band of enthusiasts, numbering among its members the great St. Bernard and the Englishman, Stephen Harding, was working out a rule and a plan of life more strict and more thorough than any that had gone before. This was the rule of the Cistercians or White Monks. Their houses and churches were to have no painted glass, no images, no picture save a simple likeness of our Lord, no lofty towers ; and in their daily life they were to live in the sternest simplicity and self-denial. Yet the buildings they raised were more beautiful than all the many other noble works of architecture which the Middle Ages produced, perhaps because of this very simplicity at which they aimed.

Choosing sequestered spots—generally some wooded hollow by the waterside—they set out, at first with success, to lead their strict and simple lives. The earliest Cistercian Monastery to be founded in England was placed at Waverley, in Surrey, in 1129 by Bishop Gifford of Winchester. King John, terrified it is said by a dream, in which he was threatened with the vengeance of Heaven for his ill-treatment of the monks, founded the great monastery at Beaulieu for thirty inmates. For over forty years the building went on, helped by many a gift from kings and nobles, until in 1246 the great church was ready for the magnificent dedication service at which Henry III himself was present with his Queen. Shortly

before this, a small colony from Beaulieu had founded Netley, the beautiful ruins of which still form one of the loveliest scenes in all Hampshire. A small nunnery of Cistercian nuns was founded at about the same time at Hartley Wintney.

PLAN OF A CISTERCIAN MONASTERY

Notice (1) the Church placed on the North side so as to protect the Cloister; (2) the Chapter-House and important buildings on the East side; (3) the Refectory (or Dining-Hall) placed at right angles to the South side—as far away from the Church as possible.

Yet another order of Regulars, founded like the others in the twelfth century, was represented in Hampshire. These were the White Canons of Prémontré, or Premonstratensians, for whom Bishop Peter des Roches founded the Abbey of Titchfield in 1231.

Scattered over Hampshire were other priories, large and small, which, because they depended on foreign abbeys, were known as *alien* priories. Mottisfont, Ellingham, Hamble, Monk Sherborne, Selborne, Andover, Breamore, and Andwell, were the chief of these.

Last of all the orders to arrive in England were the Friars. Their ideal was that of the Apostles ; their object to help the sick, to preach to the poor, and to aid the friendless ; their motto the words of Christ, " Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes." We shall hear more of them in the latter part of this chapter.

Now we have traced the steps by which Hampshire came to have its goodly supply of religious houses. Let us go on to discover, if we can, how they fared during the centuries of their prosperity, before they felt the heavy hand of King Henry VIII.

The monastery of which most is known is St. Swithun's, the cathedral monastery of Winchester. Though little is now left of its buildings, except the vast cathedral—once the church of the monks—there yet remain many of the parchment rolls on which the officers of the monastery, called " Obedientiaries ", entered their accounts. It is possible from these rolls to gather a fairly clear idea of the daily life of the monks.

St. Swithun's Priory was a monastery of great importance. Not only did its monks possess the right of electing bishops to the rich see of Winchester (for the bishop was also their abbot), but their house stood in the heart of the royal city, in the midst of much coming and going of great people. Moreover, their church contained the shrine of one popular English saint, St. Swithun, and through Winchester passed crowds of pilgrims bound for the shrine of a still more popular saint, St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Royal visits were often a severe strain on the funds

of the monastery. Thus, when Edward III, accompanied by his Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury, visited the Priory in 1337, a sum equal to nearly £300 of our money was spent on gifts alone (" tips " we might almost call them) to the king's servants. Even His Majesty's apothecary and minstrels received their share. Besides all this the resources of the priory kitchen and pantry must have been taxed to the uttermost to feed so great a company.

Much humbler visitors were the pilgrims, who, assembling in companies at a special door on the *north* side of the cathedral,—the side farthest removed from the dwellings of the monks—were admitted to the shrine of St. Swithun, there to make their devotions and leave their offerings. On their way to Canterbury they might spend the night in the Pilgrims' Hall, much of which still exists as part of the Deanery stables. Pilgrims were for the most part travel-stained, unkempt, and not over-clean, and the fastidious monks, though they did provide accommodation, were careful to place the rest-house far enough away from their own rooms.

The monks themselves lived a life that was neither strenuous nor exciting. This was certainly so during the latter part of the Middle Ages. The " jovial monk " of modern songs and stories might easily find his counterpart at St. Swithun's during that period. For the comfortable, luxurious monks ate and drank from dishes or vessels of silver, and their food itself seems not to have lacked in either variety or amount. Thus the menu on Easter Day, 1492, included spiced vegetables, meat pudding, venison cutlets, broth, custards, beef, mutton, and delicate fish entrées, together with plenty of wine. For amusement the Prior, at least, kept his huntsmen, his dogs, and his nets and snares, for rabbits, hares, and birds.

Ful many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable,
and

Grehoundes he hadde, as swift as fowel in flight.

The other monks seem to have shared in these pleasures.

Another amusement was the keeping of strange pets—monkeys, bears, and peacocks. The expenses of keeping these creatures were duly set down in the rolls.

But we must not think that any monk was absolutely idle. The services of the Church were, for the most part, regularly kept up, and at least seven times a day, if the rule were observed, each monk must attend. Then there were many offices attached to the monastery, all, or nearly all, of which were filled by the monks themselves. First came the prior, with the rank and dignity of a great noble, and a seat in the House of Lords. He was assisted by deputies, the sub-prior, third prior, and sometimes a fourth prior.

Then there was a group of officers who attended to the Church. The precentor and his deputy were responsible for the conduct of services ; the sacrist provided all the church fittings and materials—incense, candles, vestments, and the like, and paid the servants, such as cleaners, sewing-women, clock-winders, and the " Warden of St. Swithun's Shrine " ; the anniversarian made arrangements for the celebration of festivals, and the Warden of Works looked after the buildings.

Household matters occupied the attention of another little group : receiver, hordarian, chamberlain, cellarer, almoner, and others. The almoner, in particular, had the special duty of distributing the alms of the priory, and for his expenses he drew upon the profits from one of the priory manors. This manor was Hinton, called Hinton Ampner (or " Almoner ") to this day.

In addition to these officers there were porters, guest-masters, gardeners, and others, and the whole colony of monks and servants could not have been entirely idle, even had there been the wish to become so.

Much has been said by various writers about the education that was carried on in the monasteries. But in the later Middle Ages very little of this kind of work was done at all. St. Swithun's Priory supported as a rule two monks at Oxford University, and in the cloisters a small company of lads, never more than eight, were prepared for their future career as monks.

On the whole it would seem that we cannot describe the life of the monks as vicious or wicked; their life became merely selfish and useless, and so, sooner or later, they had to go.

Of the other Hampshire monasteries we know less than we do of St. Swithun's, but of each one of them very much more can be said than can be compressed into this chapter.

The records of Hyde Abbey mention a curious request once made by the monks. They obtained permission from the Pope to wear "caps of lamb-skin" during the services in their church, for the draught descending on their tonsured heads gave them sad colds. Nevertheless they had to be reproved some years later for neglect of the services, in spite of their comfortable heads.

Most troublesome and most disorderly of all were the Augustinian canons of Christchurch. On one occasion the Earl of Salisbury had actually been allowed, with his whole household, to occupy the priory. In 1402 there was open rebellion. Several canons fled, but were brought back and sternly punished by William of Wykeham. Order was restored, but the canons sank into a life of such ease and laziness that they earned and deserved the name of the "Priory Lubbers". They were heavily in debt, and at an inquiry in 1494 the only complaint made among them was that their beer was weak! Yet Christchurch Priory had wide fame as the home of venerated relics, among them the bones of St. Stephen, and part of the hair-shirt and robe of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The Priory had other famous sights as well as its relics. There was no more exquisite piece of work in all Hampshire than the Great Screen of the Priory Church, its niches, now empty, being then occupied by images of saints silver-covered, and sparkling brilliantly in the light of many candles.

Beaulieu was a much better conducted abbey. Indeed, little can be said against the Cistercians. They were not only men of religion, but traders as well. The Beaulieu monks carried on a brisk trade in the corn and wine of their fields and vineyards. At St. Leonard's Grange, not far from the abbey, one may still see the ruins of the vast

granary, over 200 feet long and 70 feet broad, where their corn was stored. Netley Abbey, too, had its cornfields and large flocks of sheep.

Just as Netley was a solace and refuge for shipwrecked and harassed seamen, so Beaulieu provided "sanctuary"

EARLY ENGLISH PULPIT AT BEAULIEU CHURCH

The present Church at Beaulieu was once the Refectory of the Abbey. From this beautiful pulpit one of the monks read during meal-times—from a book of devotion or from the Life of a saint.

for those who feared vengeance from an enemy. The wife of Warwick the King-maker, and Perkin Warbeck were among those who at various times took refuge here. Both Beaulieu and Netley seem to have been quiet homes of steady and widely extended industry.

A word or two about the nunneries must bring our story of the "convents" to a close. Romsey was one that occasionally gave trouble, and more than once the Bishop had to act very sternly in suppressing disorder. The trouble was worst just before the final dissolution under Henry VIII.

Wherwell Nunnery long preserved the memory of the good abbess Euphemia (1226–57), who increased the number of "the Lord's handmaids" from forty to eighty, increased the nuns' allowances, and added much to the buildings. Perhaps she had learned something of cleanliness and sanitation from the example afforded by the well-drained and well-ventilated buildings of the Cistercians. For, we are told, she removed "a useless mass of squalid outbuildings", partly because "the confined area and the amount of animal refuse were a cause of offence both to the feet and nostrils of those who passed through". The nunnery was rich in church ornaments, crosses, chalices, cups, censers, basins, and candlesticks, and at Wherwell, St. Thomas was again a favourite figure.

Nunnaminster, like Romsey (and perhaps Wherwell), was a place of education for young ladies of the county who wished, like Chaucer's lady, to be "nurtured in a nunnery". As many as twenty-six were receiving training there when Henry VIII brought its career to an end.

On the whole, however, monks and nuns, in their later days, did little for learning. Most of the houses had libraries—Titchfield Abbey had one of the most famous in the kingdom—but of study and learning we hear little. Many a Hampshire monk might have echoed the words of Chaucer's Monk, one of the Canterbury Pilgrims :—

> What sholde he studie and make himselven wood (i.e. *daft*),
> Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure
> Or swynken (*work*) with his handes and laboure ?

Of other Hampshire monasteries we may hear more when we reach the time of the suppression. Let us conclude this chapter with a brief reference to the rivals of the monks, namely, the Friars.

Unlike the Cistercians and the Augustinians, who, in spite of their early zeal, soon thought of little else but the business of their own particular monastery, the Friars came to minister directly to the poor and needy. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, made preaching their chief duty, while the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, ministered to the bodily as well as the spiritual needs of the weak and helpless. Many of them became clever doctors and surgeons, and were led thus to the study of natural science.

Both orders of Friars had houses in Winchester by about 1230. They settled in the heart of the poor quarter, on the banks of the Itchen, in the north-east of the city. The Dominicans were helped in the building of their house by gifts of timber from Henry III and his son Edward. But we hear little of such gifts to the Franciscans, for they were mendicant friars, pledged to absolute poverty. Shoeless, hatless, possessing only one poor robe, and obeying to the letter Christ's other command to take with them no money whatsoever (see St. Luke x), they lived for a time entirely on the gifts of the poor. The Franciscans of Southampton, who had settled among the wretched inhabitants whose hovels were huddled against the town wall in the south-east, actually did begin to build a proper house of stone. But a stern order from their chief compelled them to demolish it, and to seek no house that was better than those of the poor around them. Yet such aims as those of the Friars were too lofty for ordinary men. By the year 1280 the Southampton Franciscans had no cause to fear any rebukes from their chief and had begun to erect a solid house of stone, and though they were never luxurious, they no longer deliberately denied themselves all but the bare necessaries of life. Partly through the enmity of the monks and parish priests, whose fees and duties they interfered with, and partly through their own misdeeds, the friars became much disliked by many of the people.

They preach all of poverty, but that love they nought
For good meat to their mouths the town is through sought.

So runs an old song on the mendicant friars, and many other similar songs were once popular.

Let us turn now to our last group—those who showed such jealousy of the friars. These are the parish priests, and of them and their churches Hampshire records have much that is interesting to say.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CLERGY (*continued*)

Parish Priests and their Churches

Though Hampshire contains a great number of churches whose history reaches far back into the Middle Ages, it is difficult to find traces of the parish clergy who once ministered in them. One reason for this may be that the monasteries in the county were so numerous and powerful as quite to overshadow the parish priests, and to leave them often very poor and insignificant. But a more important reason is to be found in the troubles of the Reformation period, for with the change of religion came a wholesale destruction or removal of the marks of the older faith. In King's Somborne Church is a stone figure of a parish priest in his church vestments. Odiham Church shows the figure of another on a remarkably good "brass" (see p. 149). From these we may form some conception of the appearance of the ordinary parish clergyman in those days, as he was when he took part in the chief service of his church. At Sparsholt Church, near Winchester, may be seen an ancient chalice and paten (the communion vessels) which were found placed in the tomb of a vicar who was buried during the Middle Ages. Other churches in Hampshire may still retain a few traces of their clergy of long ago. A considerable number can at least show a list of the rectors or vicars of the parish, reaching back in some cases to the time of Henry III. Yet, on the whole, we know far less about our parish clergy than we do about the monks.

However, from those Bishop's Registers to which we

were referring a few pages back we can learn something. Thus it is quite clear that the parish clergyman was not always a priest. Sometimes he was only in acolyte's

A Parish Priest of the Middle Ages
William Goode, Rector of Dogmersfield; once a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Died 1498. (From a Brass in Odiham Church.)

orders, or some other orders almost equally low. It is to be feared that sometimes the son of a country gentleman would "take orders"—the lowest he possibly could—just in order that he might secure the revenues of a parish,

and leave the work to be done by an ill-paid chaplain. In the registers we find the bishop continually granting leave of absence to parish clergy, so that they may go away and study. In Bishop Wykeham's Register there is a reference to a Winchester rector, which throws a little light on the amount of learning a parish clergyman was expected to have. One, Roger Dean, Rector of St. Michael's, Jewry Street, promised to learn within a twelvemonth the "Articles of the Faith . . . the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Sacraments of the Church, and the form of ministering and acting in the same, including the form of Baptism". If he failed he was to pay forty shillings in alms.

This was in the cathedral city itself. In remote country parishes the priest might know even less, though he could not be entirely ignorant. A great many churches were served by paid chaplains, and these included not only those churches whose rectors or vicars were absent, but those which depended on some greater church. When we spoke of Anglo-Saxon times, we noticed how slow was the process by which the county became gradually supplied with churches. Even when the original parishes had become finally settled it often became necessary to build an extra church or two in spots where population had grown. These churches depended on the original mother-church. They were known as chapels, and the districts served by them as "chapelries". For example, Sydmonton and Ecchinswell are chapelries of the main parish of Kingsclere. Now it is in connexion with a chapelry of this kind that one register tells us something about the church services. North Hayling, in the year 1304, was a chapelry of South Hayling, and in that year the vicar of South Hayling was ordered by the bishop to make proper provision for services at the northern "chapel". These services were to be :—

1. For the "octaves" (eight days) of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and for every Feast and Sunday : Morning and Evening Prayers and "Mass".

2. "Mass" on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

A few years later the people complained that this order

had not been obeyed, so it was repeated with the addition that the vicar was to find the necessary books.

How were the parish clergy paid? To answer that question we must understand the difference between a rector and a vicar, and our Hampshire parishes will serve to illustrate this difference.

In the early days of the Church's history the custom grew up of requiring the people to set apart one-tenth of the produce of the land for the support of their clergy. As prosperity increased these "tithes", as they were called, became more and more valuable, and it became a practice with the bishops to grant to a monastery, or even to an individual, part of the tithes belonging to a certain church. Thus Henry I, when he founded St. Denys' Priory gave to the canons part of the tithes of four Southampton churches, and nearly every monastery possessed revenues of a similar kind. Now the chief kinds of produce were corn and wool, and so the tithe or tenth of these came to be known as the "Great Tithe". The holder of this "Great Tithe" was the rector, and thus a "rector" was not necessarily a single clergyman; the term might mean a monastic body, or even a layman! When the tithe was thus taken away, some one had to be sent to perform the services as a *substitute* for the rector. This substitute was the "vicar", for "substitute" is the simple meaning of the name "vicar". But some "rectors", especially if they were monasteries, often left so little money behind that a vicar could hardly live on it. So the Church adopted the plan of insisting, when the Great Tithe of a parish was granted away, that a proper agreement should be drawn up stating exactly what the vicar was to receive. For example, the nuns of Romsey Abbey were granted the Great Tithe of Romsey. But the vicar, who performed the services for the people, was to be properly supported. It was agreed that he should have a daily allowance equal to that of two nuns; the "tithes" of flax, hemp, apples, pigs, geese, cows, milk, cheese, calves, colts, honey, pigeons, charcoal, sales of produce, gardens, and of eggs; confession and funeral fees, and certain legacies; also

two cartloads of hay from "Small Mead" and certain offerings from the parish church. What a task it must have been to collect such a stipend as this! How can we wonder that the vicars of Romsey were frequently disputing with the convent, and gained the reputation of being very quarrelsome men?

But the parish priest did not depend on tithes alone. Most of his parishioners were obliged to pay him yearly dues called "Church-scot", or "Church-setts", and these payments were usually made in the form of poultry or eggs.

In those towns or villages where a monastery with its church stood, we should have expected that the people might have used the church of the monastery. But this was not always so. At Winchester, as we have seen, the pilgrims were admitted only to a small part of the cathedral. The monks of Hyde Abbey even set up a separate church for their servants and the people living near. This was the Church of St. Bartholomew. The abbey has gone; the church remains. At Romsey Abbey the people were allowed to use the north aisle, and at Christchurch Priory the townspeople used the nave as a parish church.

But what of the genuine parish churches—those which exist in great numbers to the present day? Something must be said about them.

In former chapters we have spoken of the three types of churches which have been left to us from the earlier part of the Middle Ages. These were: (1) The "Saxon" churches built before the Conquest; (2) The churches of "Norman" style built, in most cases, during the century 1066–1166, and (3) The "Transitional and Early English" churches, built during the century 1166–1266 or thereabouts. But during the reigns of the Edwards the graceful, simple Early English style (see illustrations on pp. 89 and 145) gave way to a new mode of building which made far greater use of decoration. The stone strips or mullions in the windows became more numerous and richly carved; the arches of doorways, and the nave arches were more deeply and finely moulded;

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West Front of Winchester Cathedral
A fine early example of Perpendicular architecture. Date about 1360.

and the capitals of the pillars were often most delicately sculptured. But Hampshire churches show very little of this "Decorated" style, and perhaps even less of the changed form of Decorated, known as Perpendicular, which came into fashion from the time of Richard II. (See, for an example, the illustration on p. 153.) Even when these later styles are found in our county they occur generally only in parts of a church, not throughout the whole building. The churches of Basingstoke and Basing are perhaps, the only ones built almost entirely in a Perpendicular style.

The fact is that in Hampshire generally, Decorated or Perpendicular work was used only in additions to earlier buildings, and that the county was well supplied with churches before the Early English period came to a close. From the time of Edward I the people were engaged not in building new churches, but in altering, furnishing, and beautifying those which they already had. Many still show traces of the paintings of saints and miracles and Scripture incidents with which the walls were adorned. Many more once had such paintings, but have lost them. The old pictures have been whitewashed over, or chipped away, or lost in some other manner. From those which are left, and from the "dedications" of the churches we can tell who were the most popular saints with Hampshire people. St. Christopher and St. Thomas of Canterbury appear most frequently in the paintings. St. Michael, St. Nicholas, and St. Swithun appear frequently as dedications. St. Thomas is portrayed at Bramley, Wellow, and (possibly) Compton. St. Christopher appears at Bramley, Ashmansworth, Tufton, and on a brass at Weeke. Pictures of him once existed at East Meon, Tichborne, St. John's, Winchester, and other places.

Now we know why St. Thomas of Canterbury was popular, but why this popularity of St. Christopher also?

The reason is that both he and St. Nicholas were looked upon as the special guardians of sailors. (The Winchester font shows St. Nicholas in a ship.) St. Christopher, so the old story runs, was a man of "right great stature",

who, seeking to do some good in the world, was told by a hermit to post himself at a dangerous river-crossing, and assist wayfarers through the swift waters. One day a child asked to be taken across, and as St. Christopher, taking the child on his shoulders, stepped forth, " the water of the river arose and swelled more and more, and the

St. Christopher
From a Brass in the Church at Weeke, Winchester.

child was heavy as lead ". The saint " had great anguish and was afeared to be drowned ". On reaching the other side at last, he discovered that his burden had been Christ Himself. And so he received the name of Christopher—the " Christ Bearer ", and was regarded as the special protector of all who travelled by water. Thus Chaucer's Squire, who had accompanied his master, the Knight, over seas had :

A Christopher on his brest of silver sheene.

An old poet couples St. Nicholas and St. Christopher together in the lines :

Saint Nicholas keepes the mariners from daunger and diseas,
That beaten are with boystrous waves, and tost in dreadfull seas.
Great Chrystopher, that painted is, with body big and tall
Doth even the same, who doth preserve and keep his servants all.

Saint Michael was the patron saint of Normandy, so we can understand why he appears so frequently in a county like Hampshire.

Other additions to the churches beside the paintings were the fonts, of which the fine black ones at Winchester Cathedral, St. Michael's, Southampton, East Meon, and St. Mary Bourne are the best ; and the screens that were set across before the chancel. Hardly any of these are now left, but some churches, such as Droxford, Barton Stacey, Greywell, Sopley, Tichborne, Timsbury, Silchester, Ellingham, and St. John's, Winchester, show either the screens or remains of the staircase, which once gave access to the " loft " over the screen.

Another addition which the people made to their churches (for *they* and not the clergy were responsible for repairs and improvements) was the bells. These were added for the most part in the fifteenth century. But many churches had no tower in which to place them, and the wealthier parishes built stone towers for them. That is why Hampshire has so many fifteenth or early sixteenth century towers newer than other parts of the church. Examples of such towers may be found at Eling, Micheldever, Barton Stacey, Fordingbridge, Soberton, King's Worthy, Longparish, St. Mary Bourne, Sopley, and other places. Poorer parishes like those of Hound (near Netley) and Weeke (near Winchester) could only afford to put up rough wooden towers.

Other remains of the Middle Ages are to be found in our Hampshire churches, such as ancient pulpits ; old benches and stalls like those of Warnford, Odiham,

Winchfield, and various places in the north-east; and the very ancient money-chest in Heckfield Church, used for contributions towards the Crusades.

But a whole book might be filled with descriptions of the interesting objects which our Hampshire churches can show. My readers must be left to find out for themselves more about their own parish churches. For one of the best ways of learning history is to study an old building, like a parish church, which was in existence when our early history was still in the making.

CHAPTER XVII

HAMPSHIRE IN ENGLISH HISTORY (1200–1500)

Now that we have completed the general picture of Hampshire life during the Middle Ages, let us once more take up the thread of the narrative dealing with the story of Hampshire in its connexion with English history. During the three centuries of which we are now speaking, the history of our county is made for us almost entirely by the harbours and ports of the coast. Normandy was lost, yet we still held Acquitaine. Henry III and Edward I in their wars in Southern France made great use of the two Hampshire harbours. Then came the stirring times of the Hundred Years' War, and year by year the harbours of Portsmouth and Southampton saw great fleets collect, and brilliant armies depart therein. In darker days the men of the south stood to defend their coast against French raids, or gloomily watched shattered wrecks struggling into port—remnants of fleets that had fared badly in battle with France, or in conflict with the waves. Even when the great war was over "Hampton, the pride of all the southern shore", and Portsmouth still had a part to play. For in their harbours Yorkist and Lancastrian alike, during the Wars of the Roses, fitted out fleets, or took refuge from superior forces. We do not sufficiently realize, perhaps, that the Wars of the Roses were partly fought on the sea.

For a time, however, during the reigns of John and Henry III, Winchester continued to hold its position as a centre of national history. Henry III, himself born at Winchester, always showed a partiality for the old capital, often very much to Winchester's misfortune, as we have already had reason to know. In his reign the walls were strengthened and the greater part of the West Gate built, for the Barons' War showed that the need of such a stronghold had not diminished since Norman times. Just outside the West Gate the king erected in his castle that beautiful Great Hall, which is still left for us to admire. Finished in 1235—while Beaulieu and Netley were still being built or under contemplation—this hall illustrates, in the style of its building, how our English architects were giving up Norman patterns, and were copying the "Early English" work that was then appearing in the cathedrals. Those parts of the Great Hall which are left as they were in Henry's time—for example, the "lancet" windows at the west end—are beautiful examples of the Early English style found in a building which was not a church.

On one occasion Henry III, seated on the dais at the east end of the hall, took part in a trial which throws some light on the disorder and confusion that resulted from his bad government. Hampshire had become one of the most unsafe counties in the kingdom for travellers and merchants. Many a trader passing between Southampton and London, or going to or from St. Giles's Fair, lost money, goods, and even life at the hands of ruffians and freebooters like that Robert le Ewer of whom we have read. Complaints to the king were of no avail, until one day, a party of these robbers, grown over-bold, seized a quantity of wine which was passing from Southampton to Winchester for the king's use. We can imagine what revelries followed. But trouble was to come, for His Majesty was furious. Calling together in his hall at Winchester a jury of the men of the district, he charged them to state who the depredators were. But the worthy jurors were themselves hand-in-glove with the robbers, and not a name would any of them utter. Down they

had to go, at the king's orders, into the darkest dungeon, there to await execution. Another jury was called, for, raved Henry, "the city and district stink. I was born in the city, yet nowhere have I been so disgracefully treated." The second jury saw that the time for trifling was past; they gave up the names of a number of king's officers and others who had been of the robber band, and then for two or three days the royal executioner was busy. Yet some of the condemned had the courage to remind the violent king that had he paid them their wages they would never have been reduced to such evil courses.

From Edward I's time Winchester began to decline, and when Edward III began to collect troops and ships for his great French expeditions, Southampton and Portsmouth at once sprang into prominence. In 1338 Southampton received a rude shock. One Sunday morning, while the people were at church, a mixed assortment of French, Genoese, and Spaniards suddenly attacked the town, laid much of it waste, and slew a number of townsmen. Before they left, however, "some were knokked on the heoyd (head)", so the English poet sings. Yet the townsmen seem to have made a sorry show. The king, in anger, took the town into his own hands, depriving it of its liberties, and speedily set to work to erect those great walls and towers which, even to this day, keep silent watch on the seaward side.

After a year had passed the mayor and burgesses were restored, with strict injunctions to attend more carefully to the defence of the town. The Earl of Warwick with 100 men-at-arms was sent down as guardian. Other guardians were appointed shortly afterwards; the Knights Hospitallers, an order of soldier-monks, were specially charged to assist in the defence, and the holders of manors near Southampton were required to have their men in readiness. In vain did the men of Eling complain that their crops were ungathered, and that absence during harvest time might mean ruin to them.

In 1346 Edward and the Black Prince sailed from Southampton to win the great fight at Crécy. Other troops sailed at the same time from Portsmouth.

Hampshire felt the full force of that dread calamity which, for a time, put a stop to all warfare. This was the Black Death—the terrible pestilence which may have first entered England by way of Dorset. The church records tell us most about its effects. Over 200 clergy died. The monasteries suffered terribly. The numbers at St. Swithun's were reduced from sixty to thirty-five, at Hyde Abbey from thirty-five to twenty, at Romsey from ninety to about thirty. Then the death of so many tenants caused the lands to go uncultivated, and holders of manors lost great sums. The population of Hayling Island was almost wiped out. From the Register of Bishop Edendon we may learn what terror and alarm the pestilence caused. He ordered special prayers *pro pestilentia* ; penance was to be more strictly enforced ; sermons were to be preached on the resurrection of the body ; and through market-places and village churchyards the clergy were to go barefoot, singing in procession their Greater Litany. Rich and poor alike seem to have been stupefied by the frightful blow, and, for a time, it seemed as though the Day of Doom had come.

The war was resumed in 1356, but after the Poictiers success fortune went against the English. By the year 1370 the question was not whether we could hold France, but whether we could defend our own coasts. Troops were collected in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berks., and Oxon., and concentrated at Southampton and Portsmouth. English naval disasters made matters worse, and in 1377, when Richard II had just come to the throne, the storm broke. The Isle of Wight was laid waste with fire and sword, and Portsmouth and Lymington, both in the " port " of Southampton, you will remember, were sacked and burnt. But the central fortress, Southampton, now enormously strengthened, and held by the brave Sir John Arundel, could afford to proclaim defiance to the French fleet, as it ventured into Southampton Water. When the enemy retired Sir John slipped across the Channel and reinforced the English garrison at Cherbourg. Next year he took command of an expedition sent to assist John of Gaunt, in Brittany. Overtaken by a storm, his vessel was

SOUTHAMPTON WALLS. SEA-WARD SIDE
Built in the reign of Edward III.

wrecked on the treacherous coast of Cornwall, and he perished with eighty of his men. The remaining vessels, battered and broken, could only just struggle back to port.

Once more the war languished and the southern towns, although still harassed with turbulent troops, suffering terrible anxieties, and bearing heavy loads of taxation, had a breathing space of about thirty years. Henry V, when he began fresh hostilities, realized what every successful English commander has realized since his time—that safety and success depended on command of the sea. Henry's policy,

> . . . was not ellis but that he cast to bee
> Lorde round about environ of the See.

Kings before his time had used hired ships to fight their naval battles. Henry V was the first to build on a large scale his own royal ships-of-war. *He* is the true "Father of the English Navy", and not Alfred the Great; and of that Navy Southampton, and not Portsmouth, was, as it were, the cradle. Portsmouth, it is true, was fortified by Henry V, and much strengthened, but Southampton was the great arsenal. It was there that Henry built his great "dromons" as they were called :

> When at Hampton he made the grete Dromons,
> Which passed other grete shippes of alle the comons;
> The *Trinité*, the *Grace Dieu*, the *Holy Goste*,
> And other more, which as now be loste.

From Southampton sailed the bulk of the army that won Agincourt, after Henry had done justice on those conspirators against his life, the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey. The earl lies buried in the ancient chapel of God's House Hospital, now the French Church of Southampton.

The year after, 1416, Henry's navy beat off a marauding fleet of French and Genoese, and next year he again left Southampton amid great rejoicings and the enthusiastic adoration of the people,

> . . . and his brave fleet
> With silken streamers the young Phoebus fanning.

But Henry's success, as we know, was short-lived. Under his son Henry VI, the Hampshire ports continued to be centres of naval activity. But the navy had declined since Henry V's day, and the glory was departed.

In 1445 there landed at Portsmouth Margaret of Anjou, who, as Queen Margaret of England, was to have such a troubled career through the Wars of the Roses. She met Henry VI at Southampton, and at Titchfield they were united.

The central figure of Hampshire during the early part of Henry VI's reign was Beaufort, the Cardinal-Bishop of Winchester. He not only supplied money for the war but actually carried troops across to France himself. For his services to the king, he was granted the customs of Southampton, and great efforts were made to increase the trade of that port. But the heavy charges laid on the town for assistance in " keeping the sea ", and such acts as the king's seizure in 1453 of all the tin that was in the important metal-market of the town, kept it poor, so that taxes had often to be remitted.

In 1455, however, the Italian merchants from Venice and Genoa, who, since about 1380 had traded with Southern England, left London in a body and took up their quarters at Southampton. The trade of Hampshire was thus made to flourish. A ready market for Hampshire wool was to be found among the Italians, and though there was often much jealousy, and even open conflict, the trade continued, much to the benefit of both sides.

The Wars of the Roses, which brought the Plantagenet Period to an end, did not affect Hampshire very much on land. But at sea considerable fighting was done. Through Henry VI's reign the sea had swarmed with pirates, and now, to make matters worse, Yorkist and Lancastrian joined in the turmoil. For so lawless were the times of :

> Much people of conscience light,
> Many knights and little of might,
> Many laws and little right,

that we even hear of warships, sent to suppress pirates, joining the freebooters themselves !

Warwick the King-Maker had been Admiral of the Navy, and when he quarrelled with Edward IV, in 1470, the fleet supported him. At Southampton lay a large war-vessel *La Trinité*, which Warwick tried to seize. He failed, and the twenty prisoners taken by his Yorkist enemies were treated with the most horrible savagery.

Another fight took place in 1475, this time with the French. The English were unprepared. The town guns of Southampton were in the store-house and sadly out of repair. Thus the gun "Thomas with the Beard" had to be provided with two "forlokkes", and others were even worse off. Thomas, we are told, had to be tied down with a rope before he could be fired, for he was broken, and his "kicking" was dangerous.

On land Hampshire had little to do with the wars, for the county had no great barons. Some Hampshire men were with the king's forces at some of the battles, and the towns certainly inclined to the Yorkist side. For, when Richard III was attacked by the Duke of Buckingham he wrote to the men of Southampton asking their help against one who threatened the destruction "of us, you, and alle othre our trewe subgiettes that have taken oure part".

But Richard fell, and with the reign of Henry VII began a new era. The reign of this king was, for Hampshire, a period generally of peace and prosperity. Not till the reign of his son Henry VIII did stirring events again occur, and to these events we shall now have to turn.

TUDOR TIMES

CHAPTER XVIII

DAYS OF CHANGE UNDER HENRY VIII

The last few chapters have aimed at presenting a general picture of Hampshire life during the latter part of the Middle Ages. It is possible to present the life of the period 1200–1500 as a whole, because, during that time, although changes occurred, they came very gradually. Now we come to a reign—the reign of Henry VIII—when changes were both great and rapid. The Hampshire of 1547, the year of Henry's death, was very unlike the Hampshire of 1509, the year of his accession. We might almost say that Henry found England still in the Middle Ages and left her well advanced into the Modern Period.

At first his reign made little difference. The southern harbours were still busy preparing expeditions for French wars ; knights of Hampshire, like Sir John Whallop, still maintained the traditions of Hampshire chivalry in warfare with the French ; Venetian galleys still unloaded Eastern wares and took on board wool, cloth, and metals at the quays of Southampton.

Naval activity on the coast was very great during the early years of Henry's reign. The advantages of Portsmouth as a naval station had become more fully appreciated, and the royal dockyard was finally established there before the end of Henry VII's reign. Henry VIII did more for the navy than any of his predecessors, and it was through his foresight that England, under the Tudors, gained such great naval triumphs. To defend Spithead he built Southsea Castle; to defend the Solent, Hurst Castle ; while Calshot and Cowes Castles were erected to guard the central part of the straits, and the way to Southampton.

Southampton, however, being further inland and better protected, continued to provide the most convenient starting-place for troops, as it does to this day. A force of 10,000 men was assembled there in 1512, reviewed by the king, and dispatched to assist Ferdinand of Spain against the French. English admirals—Howard, Surrey, and Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton—put into the southern ports from time to time. The Earl of Surrey, in 1522, was engaged in clearing the seas of pirates and French warships, so that he might escort from Southampton the Emperor Charles V, who had been staying with the king at Winchester.

But even under a king like Henry, naval losses were frequent. Pirates swarmed even in the very harbours, and French ships would "cut out" vessels from under the guns of Southampton and Portsmouth. Henry, at the end of his reign in 1545, had the mortification of seeing Portsmouth itself attacked by a large French fleet. To the last "Bluff King Hal" loved to be among his troops. Some readers may have seen copies of a famous picture which Henry caused to be painted showing him surrounded by troops, watching the conflict from the shores of Spithead. Lord Lisle, the English Admiral, having fewer ships than the French, refused to be drawn into a general engagement, for should he be defeated, nothing could save Portsmouth. An attack was delivered by the French in long swift galleys, which played then the part of modern destroyers or torpedo-boats. One great English vessel, the *Mary Rose*, in turning to avoid them, heeled over; the water entered her port-holes; and, before the eyes of the king himself, she went down with 500 men. But the wind changed, the English delivered a counter-attack, and the French, after failing to seize the Isle of Wight, drew off.

The events of Henry's reign which overshadowed all others were those connected with religion and the Church. Our *Bishops' Registers* show that doubts and difficulties had arisen long before Henry's time. Bishop Wykeham had taken measures against the Lollard followers of Wycliffe. In 1491, in Bishop Courtenay's

time, we hear of one Richard Sawyer of Woodhay, near Newbury, accused before the Bishop of heresy. He confessed that he said that "the blessed sacrament was but a pece of dowe bakyn and prentyd betwyxt Irones, and that I cowde make 30 of theym within a owyr if I hyd such prentyng Irones". He also admitted "buying and conceilying of Englyshe bokes".

The monasteries, too, were becoming more and more unpopular and less and less useful. Bishop Fox, instead of helping them, chose to found a college at Oxford, for the Revival of Learning was turning men's minds away from a life of seclusion, and leading them to seek a life of learning and activity. At last came the great blow, the suppression of the monasteries. The larger ones did not fall till 1539, the smaller ones were seized in 1536.

Now, although it was probably true that far too much wealth was in the possession of monasteries, and that their property could be turned to better uses, nothing could be more shameful than the way in which their suppression was brought about, and their property seized upon by greedy courtiers and county gentry. To justify the seizure, Thomas Cromwell, the king's minister, sent round "visitors", as they were called, to inquire into the state of the monasteries. They presented to Cromwell a report on the condition of the monasteries, which made them appear hotbeds of wickedness and vice. The monks may have been idle and useless to the nation at large in many cases; they may have been guilty in a few monasteries of evil and disorderly living; but many of the stories of wickedness and "abominable living" of which we have heard so much were pure inventions, concocted in order to justify the king's seizures.

In 1536 the smaller houses were seized, and in every county commissions of gentry were appointed to find out which houses came under the law of suppression, and to make arrangements for transferring their inmates to some of the larger houses, or to pension them off if they wished to "leave religion". Let us see what the Hampshire Commissioners had to say about the nunneries and monasteries in the county.

The nuns at Nunnaminster, Winchester, they report, "have been and are of very clene, vertuous, honest and charitable conversation, order, and rule synce the first profession of thym, which is also reported not only by the Mayor and Comynaltye of the Citye of Winchester, butt also by the most worshipfull and honest persons of the Countre adjoynynge thereunto, which have dayly made a contynuell sute unto the said Commissioners to be suetors unto the kinges highness for tolleracon of the said monastery." They add that around the house are "many poor householders which have theyr only lyvynge of the said monastery".

The nuns at Hartley Wintney were "by reporte of good conversation, which trooly desieren to contynue in the same religion".

Complaints had to be made, however, of Romsey, and the monks of Christchurch, as usual, were not behaving well. Netley was spoken of as "to the kinges subjects and strangers traveling the same seas great relief and comforte". Of its seven monks, six desired to "continue in religion" and were removed to Beaulieu.

As the smaller monasteries closed their doors, their property and lands—which should have been reserved for the service of Church and State if the king had kept his promises—were seized by those who were lucky enough to win Cromwell's favour. Lord Lisle was after the Netley lands. Cromwell told him he had no chance; advised him to try for Nunnaminster or Waverley, "which is a pretty thing;" and gave the possession to one of his instruments, Wriothesley. Henry Huttoft, a Southampton burgess who collected the king's Customs, cast longing eyes on Mottisfont Priory. So he, too, tried his luck. When he made up his accounts and sent them to Cromwell he added a letter saying that he had heard certain rumours about monastery estates that would soon be seeking new owners. "Let me be a suitor for one," he begs, "the house at Mottisfont where there is a good friend of mine with as good a master and convent as is in the county. If none are to be reserved but all must pass one way, please to let me have it towards my poor

living." But in spite of his enterprise, Master Henry's "poor living" remained as before, for Mottisfont was given to Lord Sandys, who had built himself a great mansion at the Vyne near Basingstoke. Lord Sandys was a great man in north Hampshire in Henry VIII's day. He assisted in founding at Basingstoke the famous "Guild of the Holy Ghost", and helped to erect the "Holy Ghost" chapel, whose ruins may still be seen in Basingstoke Cemetery. Both on those ruins and in various parts of Basingstoke Church, his initials, W. S., may be distinguished. He was a trusted servant and friend of the king. (He is the "Lord Sands" who appears in Shakespeare's play of *Henry VIII.*) Perhaps the reason for giving him Mottisfont was to win him over to the king's side again, for he had disagreed strongly with Henry's religious policy. In the east window of Mottisfont Church is some stained glass which was brought, perhaps by Sandys, from the Holy Ghost Chapel.

But Henry and Cromwell did not mean to stop at the smaller monasteries. They wished also to attack the "great and fat abbots" of the larger houses. For several years before the final blow fell in 1539 the way was being carefully prepared. Hampshire examples illustrate how this was done. The Abbess of Wherwell, for instance, refused to resign at the bidding of Cromwell. She was thereupon accused of disgraceful misdeeds, summoned to London, and so persecuted that she at last made way for a more "conformable" abbess. Abbot Stephens of Netley was transferred to Beaulieu so that he might surrender that monastery when the time came. Prior Draper of Christchurch was won over after feeble opposition. Abbot Salcot of Hyde, a strong supporter of Henry's policy, was sure to be "conformable" enough, and so was Prior Kingsmill of St. Swithun's.

In 1539 the "visitors" came to take possession and to fill both their own pockets and the king's coffers. At Christchurch they found "the howse well furnysshede with Jewellys and plate, whereof som be mete for the King's majesty's use". At Winchester they made an end of St. Swithun's shrine. "There was in it," they

report, "no piece of gold, nor one ring or true stone, but all counterfeits. Nevertheless we think the silver alone thereof will amount near to two thousand marks." Later on, they viewed the altar, "which we purpose to bring with us. It will be worth taking down . . . which done, we intend both at Hyde and St. Mary's to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics; which we may not omit, *lest it should be thought we come more for the treasure than for avoiding of th' abomination of idolatry.*" How full of hidden meaning are these words which we have printed in italics!

For the lands of the great monasteries there was another scramble. Wriothesley again had a great share. To him went much of the Hyde property and the lands of Beaulieu and Titchfield. At Titchfield he built, from the materials of the abbey, his stately Place House (see p. 171). A servant of his, John White, received Southwick Priory, and thanked his master, saying, that "by the Providence of God and his master's help he had attained what he had desired all his life, namely, an honest house in which to bid his guests welcome". Most of the great churches were destroyed, but that of Christchurch was left as a parish church, and the people of Romsey bought the abbey church from the king for £100!

Abbots, priors, and monks were pensioned off. Abbot Salcot was made a bishop, and Prior Kingsmill of St. Swithun's was made first Dean of Winchester. Many of the Winchester estates were confiscated and given away. New statutes were drawn up for the government of the cathedral, and in the next reign, Edward VI's, a new set of rules for services was made. One of the most interesting of these is the rule that:

"All maner of coristars (choristers) of this sayd chirche shall from hensforthe suffer ther crownes to growe and be no more shaven butt onely ther hear to be rowndede and clypped short."

With the monasteries fell the Friaries of Winchester and Southampton, and some years before Henry's reign came to an end the work of suppression was complete.

Henry did not wish, however, to bring about any great

PLACE HOUSE, TITCHFIELD
Little is now left but the Gate House and Towers.

change in religious belief itself. He encouraged the Protestant followers of Luther only so long as he needed their help against the monks. But when he had put an end to the monasteries he did his best to stop what he regarded as heresy. One of the earliest Hampshire Protestants was John Palmes, the blind vicar of Bentworth, near Alton. In 1539 he wrote to Cromwell, saying that he had considered himself free from bondage to Rome and had taken a wife, though priests were forbidden to marry. For this the bishop had prosecuted him. A fortnight later he again "appealed to Cromwell as Paul appealed to Caesar", else, said he, the power and unequal law of Rome, openly preached against by him almost alone in that part of Hampshire, will crush him. But Cromwell was already doomed and could give him no help. The bishop's officer, accompanied by a number of country gentry, arrived on the scene, to put in the place of Palmes, Thomas Stephens, the former Abbot of Beaulieu.

It was clear that Protestants could not hope for much from Henry VIII. How they gathered strength, and what changes in religion took place during the troubled reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, the next chapter must tell.

CHAPTER XIX

CHANGES IN RELIGION

The three reigns which followed that of Henry VIII—the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth—were accompanied in Hampshire, as in other parts of England, by great and sudden religious changes. Many a Hampshire man in those days, anxious to save life and limb, changed his religion with each change of sovereign. Such a man was the first Marquis of Winchester, who boasted, "I am a willow, not an oak." Others, as we shall see, stood true to their beliefs and suffered for them.

The council of the young King Edward VI was less

anxious to bring about changes in religion than to strip the parish churches of their treasures, as Henry had stripped the monasteries. Declaring that "the King's Majestie had neede presently of a Masse of Mooney", the council ordered that commissioners in every county and town should draw up lists, showing what each parish church possessed. Then the Government would leave just enough vessels, ornaments and fittings for the services, and would take the rest. Some Hampshire lists are still extant. They show that several parishes had sold some of their goods to avoid confiscation, or had used the proceeds for the purpose of repairing the church. At Alverstoke, Sopley, Buriton, and Meonstoke, much property had been stolen. All Saints, Southampton, had sold some church vessels and ornaments to assist in paying the expenses of Henry's war with the French. If Henry could do as he liked with the property of the monasteries, why—many people thought—could not they do as they pleased with the belongings of their parish churches ?

But changes in religion took place also, and here, too, the ancient records of our Hampshire churches show how each village and parish was affected. Let us take as examples the three parishes Crondall, Stoke Charity, and Soberton, for records are left of all three.

At Crondall, in 1548, the churchwardens paid for taking down images and image-lights, and "for making clean the church after the images taken down". Next year they bought a copy of Edward's First Prayer Book, and a copy of the Psalter. In 1551 their expenses included the cost of pulling down the old stone altars, of "dressing up where the altars stood", and of a new wooden table to replace them. In 1552 the wardens sold off the old iron, stones, plates, and cloths. Thus did many of the traces of the old form of service disappear.

At Stoke Charity the wardens paid, in 1551, 3*s.* for removing the old altars and 10*d.* for setting up the new table. They, too, bought the new Prayer Book and a new Bible.

At Soberton the vicar of that time has entered in the church register under the date 1549—"this tyme began

the Ingles (English) service "—referring, of course, to the introduction of Edward's First Prayer Book.

The people seem to have taken all these changes very quietly, although there was some murmuring, especially against the Duke of Northumberland. Here is an example of the way in which that scheming man treated those who ventured even to speak against him. In 1552 the Sheriff of Hampshire received an order from the Privy Council (where Northumberland was then supreme) "to cause Alyn Hudson who hath reported certaine slanderous woordes touching the Duke of Northumberland to be set on the Pillorie the next market day at Southampton, with a paper on his hed conteyning these woordes in great lettres: 'A sediscious reporter of lewde and slanderous woordes;' and there to have one of his eares cut of, and from thence to be conveyed to Winchester, there to receyve the lyke punishment with the loss of th' other of his eares; and thereuppon to set hym at lybertie with a good lesson to beware of the lyke hereafter." If this is a fair specimen of Northumberland's methods we need hardly be surprised at the hatred that was felt for him. His attempt to keep Mary from the throne failed miserably, and on Mary's accession the old customs came back.

That unhappy queen's marriage was celebrated in Hampshire. In 1554 Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton, where his haughty manners and cold bearing did not at all please men who had known Bluff King Hal. Proceeding to Winchester, he was married to the queen by Bishop Gardiner on July 25. The queen's chair is still shown to visitors to the cathedral.

Now let us turn to the parish churches once more, to see what effect the accession of Queen Mary had on their observances and services. Apparently the old religion was far from dead, and soon revived in all its vigour. For here are the churchwardens of Crondall paying for incense, for candles, for repainting the staff of their processional cross, and for "A Processional and a Manual"—two of the old service books—to replace the new Prayer Book. At Stoke Charity the wardens at once lay out large sums

on "makinge of the High Aulter; Frankensens; a Manuell Boke; a Canvas Altar Clothe; a newe Holy Water Pott; a Masse Boke; mendynge of the best Crosse"; and wax for candles.

Queen Mary assisted the return of the old religion by sending back a few of the vessels and ornaments that Edward VI's commissioners had taken away. Hampshire was one of the few counties that received anything back at all.

Yet Mary's success was not so great as she had thought. When it became clear that the new form of worship had taken deep root, the persecutions began. Gardiner, whom Mary had called back to the bishopric of Winchester, which he had lost in Edward's day, had died; it was Bonner, Bishop of London, and Mary herself who were chiefly responsible for the ill-treatment of the Protestants. There was one Hampshire burning, and John Philpot, a Hampshire Archdeacon, was among those who suffered at Smithfield. A clergyman named Bembridge, accused of heresy, had "recanted" and been released by the sheriff. At once the queen's council wrote, sternly rebuking the sheriff and ordering Bembridge to be dealt with "oute of hande". He was accordingly burned at Winchester in July, 1558, and the sheriff then had to appear before the council to answer for his leniency.

Mary died in 1558, and Elizabeth stayed for a time the hand of the persecutor. By the Act of Uniformity she tried to bring in a system of worship which all could accept. Many Hampshire clergy refused to take the oath to be faithful to the new system, and so lost their livings. Still, it was not until the Pope and the discontented Roman Catholics began their attacks upon her, that the prosecutions commenced of the Romanist recusants; those who refused to attend the form of service established by law in their parish churches. Such recusants were always very numerous in Hampshire. Lists of them were drawn up from time to time by the bishop and his servants—especially the zealous Bishop Cooper—and these lists show how numerous they were. Many lived in the eastern part of the county, at Wymer-

ing, Warblington, Hambledon, Petersfield, Buriton, Alton, and Tichborne, and their houses formed very convenient hiding- and resting-places for the priests from abroad, who landed on the south coast. Although some recusants were poor, many were country gentry. Such were the Cottons of Warblington, the Tichbornes of Tichborne. Ludlow of Fareham, Bannister of Southampton, Cuffaud of Basing, Shelley of Mapledurham, Wells of Twyford, Udall of Woodcote, and some of the Pauletts.

Their treatment became more severe as the danger to Elizabeth became greater. They were fined at the rate of £20 a month, imprisoned if they could not pay the fines, and upon them were laid special duties of providing cavalry for the defence of the kingdom.

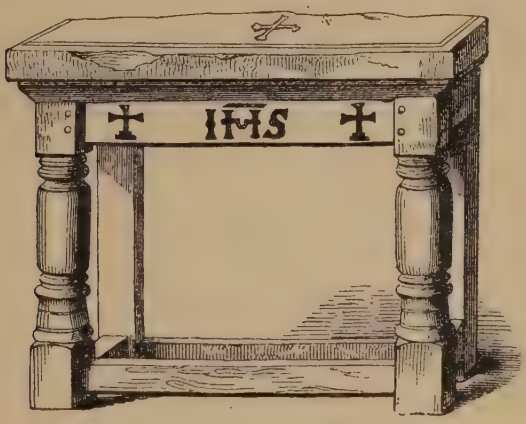
Winchester Gaol became overcrowded with recusants; the bishop filled his castle at Farnham with them, and then suggested that some should be exiled to Flanders "to be employed as pioneers and labourers, and so this country shall be disburdened of a company of dangerous people". The governor of Winchester Gaol was himself a recusant paying fines, but he was removed from his office when it was discovered that he was allowing the prisoners many privileges and liberties.

Husbands who were not recusants were held responsible for wives who were. Yet, in spite of all these trials the recusant gentry were loyal to the queen. Nicholas Tichborne, when he was called upon to pay £25 to provide "a light horse" for the queen's service declared that he could not pay, for all his property had gone in fines, though he wished to show "his loyalty and true obedience to Her Majesty, who, with all my heart I do acknowledge for my most dread sovereign lady and queen".

A few recusants—a very few—such as Slade at Winchester and Body at Andover suffered the death penalty, but this was for adding conspiracy to recusancy.

The greatest severities were reserved for the "seminary and massing priests", who, landing on the south coast and concealing themselves in the "priests' holes" of recusants' houses, performed secret mass for their friends and patrons. Some of these priests were undoubtedly

involved in conspiracies against the queen's life, and, whenever they were taken, death was the usual penalty. Richard Johnson, Roger Dickenson, John Chapman, Robert Anderton, and William Marsden were some of the priests from France who were captured in Hampshire, and either executed at Winchester, or sent to London to be dealt with by the Privy Council. James I continued the prosecutions, and it was not until the risk of



Altar Table in Tichborne Church
Said to have been used for Private Mass in the days of Elizabeth.

Spanish and other attacks had diminished that the Government relaxed its efforts.

It is very difficult to excuse such harshness and cruelty. But we must remember that Elizabeth's ministers had to face great and terrible dangers, and they never knew when a secret blow might be struck. Whatever we may think of the severities either of Mary's or of Elizabeth's reign, we can, at least, be glad that Hampshire produced so many men on both sides who could suffer, even the last penalty, if need were, for the sake of their beliefs.

CHAPTER XX

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. HAMPSHIRE AND THE ARMADA

THE glories of England returned under the strong, though stern government of Elizabeth, and in this chapter we shall see how great was Hampshire's share in the stirring events of her reign.

The great queen herself made more than one "progress" through the county. In 1569 she was entertained at Netley by the Earl of Hertford. Thence she moved to Southampton, where a gift of £40 and heavy expenses for feasts and rejoicings must have cost the citizens a pretty sum. In 1591, however, they again received her well at a total cost of nearly £100. In the same year, the queen was once more sumptuously entertained by the Earl of Hertford, this time at Elvetham in north-east Hampshire. The illustration on p. 179 depicts one scene of the great water-pageant which was then held in her honour.

In 1601 the queen made her last progress. This time, the Marquis of Winchester at Basing, and Lord Sandys at the Vyne, received her and her suite. As she left the county, escorted by the sheriff and gentry, she halted at Silchester and "sayd she was never so honourably received into any shire. For as Hampshire is a county pleasant of soile and full of delights for princes of this land, who often make their progresses thither, so it is well inhabited by ancient gentlemen, civilly educated, and who live in great amity together."

In that glorious triumph, the defeat of the Armada, Hampshire the naval county, Hampshire the home of stout ships and venturous sailors, bore a worthy part. When the news of Philip's preparations reached England, steps were at once taken to supplement the Royal Navy with ships supplied by the various ports. Southampton was called upon to supply two ships of over 60 tons each, and one smaller vessel. The mayor replied that, owing

PAGEANT GIVEN BY THE EARL OF HERTFORD AT ELVETHAM IN 1591, IN HONOUR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH
Notice the Queen, shown on the left of the picture.

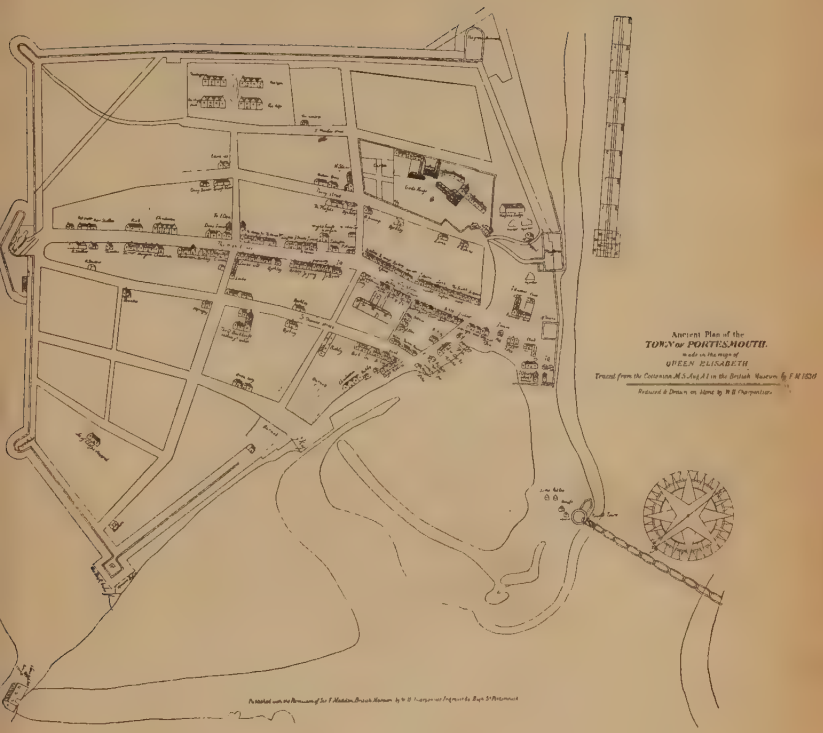
to decay of trade and the fact that 110 men had already been " pressed " for service in the queen's ships, the town could do no more. Portsmouth, too, was in a dangerously weak condition, in spite of the ships-of-war assembled in the harbour.

Every available Hampshire man who had any sea legs at all was pressed into service. Even ordinary tradesmen were called upon. Thus, the Mayor of Winchester received a very strong letter from Her Majesty's chief baker complaining of his worship's " slack diligence " in securing bakers for the fleet. Master " Backer ", as he calls himself, pours out his wrath on Mr. Mayor thus : " and whereas affore yow said yow had bowt one backer in the holle citie, but it is a great deale the more shame for your having so many women backers in that citie, that after a whele we shall be faine to have *them* serve the Quine for we shall have no man from yow."

Large bodies of troops were collected, for there was danger that the Spaniards might land. Hampshire raised 6,500 men, and 500 more were to march in from Surrey " uppon any soche occacion that might happen of the fyeringe of the Beacons ". A body of 1,000, under Sir John Norris, held Portsmouth " untill her Majestie's Navy might come to give them succor yf occasion served ". In Southampton, Walter Lambert was put in command, and the mayor and all the inhabitants were ordered to be " atendant, obedient, ruled, and ordered by the said Capitaine in all martial affaires ".

The Bishop of Winchester was foremost in raising troops. When the queen's council wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury complaining of the general failure of the clergy to help in defending the country, they referred, by way of contrast, to " the verye good Lord Byshop of Winchester, who hath shewed alreadye a verie good example in his Diocesse ". The troops he had raised were ordered " to be in readynes to joyne with the rest of the forces of that county uppon an howre's warning ".

All the county forces were placed under the joint command of the Earl of Sussex and the Marquis of Winchester, the Lords-lieutenant, and when the Armada appeared,



PORTSMOUTH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
From an old plan.

To study the map place it so that the corner marked A is at the top.

Hampshire was ready. On July 25, the Spanish fleet, harassed by the English, was off the Isle of Wight, intending, it was feared, to attack Portsmouth. But the enemy moved on up Channel, and next day (July 26) a dispatch was sent to the Earl of Sussex ordering him to prepare vessels at Portsmouth to carry supplies to the Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, who was unable to put into port himself, now that the Spaniards were at sea. The Earl was also told that if he and his officers thought that the Spanish fleet "is passed so farre that it shall not be needfull to keepe the forces of the countie together upon the coast, that then his Lordship doe dismisse the companies to returne home, with order nevertheless, that uppon anie warning they may be readie to repaire thither agayne; and whereas it is now reported that there are 3,000 in Portsmouth, if his Lordship shall not see cause to the contrarie, it is thought that some 400 will suffice until there shall be more occacion to use a greater number." The council ordered 2,000 of the troops thus set free to march to Tilbury to assist in the defence of London. They set out, but were soon turned back when the news of the wild flight of the Spanish vessels from Calais reached London.

The danger, as we know, was past, and Hampshire breathed freely again. But Philip, having lost one armada, prepared to try again, and at any time another attack might be delivered. So a plan was prepared in 1590, to be put into execution whenever necessary. A body of 2,000 men drawn from east and south-east Hants (Portsdown, Alton, Fareham, East Meon, Selborne, &c.) would assemble at Portsmouth "uppon such sommons and warninge by beacons or otherwise as have heretofore been thought meet and convenient". Another 3,000, drawn from the north and west, would defend the Isle of Wight. All of these 5,000 were picked men. "Muster-rolls" were to be drawn up, giving the names of officers and men, their equipment, and the method of summoning the troops. Drill was to take place constantly, and vessels, carts, and wagons were to be ready for transport purposes. In fact, these 5,000 men were to

form a well-trained " Territorial Army " for Hampshire. The remaining men of the county were reserved " for the guarding of the sea costes, and castles all along the sea costes from the towne of Portsmouth unto the Castle of Hurst ". Fortunately, the need for using this force never arose.

The reign of Elizabeth was, on the whole, a period of decline in Hampshire trade and shipping. The discovery of America had transferred the centres of trade to the ports of Devon and the west, while the downfall of Venice before the oncoming Turks had seriously injured the Mediterranean trade. The only prosperous people seem to have been the pirates, who still infested even the home waters of the Solent, Spithead, and Southampton Water.

Warfare, so long continued, had also done much to cripple trade and ruin shipping. Southampton, in 1598, was named in a list of " decayed towns ". Portsmouth, on the other hand, prospered *only* in time of war. Years of peace left it empty, poor, and desolate, though the wine trade, in Elizabeth's reign, helped its fortunes a little.

There was a dark side, after all, to Elizabethan glories. For within the State was an enemy, even more terrible than the Spaniard outside, and this enemy's name was Poverty. The fall of the monasteries, the terrible waste of the monastic property, the extravagant expenditure of Henry VIII, the debasement of the coinage, and the clearing of cultivated lands for the laying out of sheep farms—all these causes had combined to produce that great army of the poverty-stricken and workless, who for a time were treated as sturdy rogues and vagabonds. The " Merrie England " of Elizabeth was very far from " merrie " for such poor creatures. Gradually the Government came to see that something more besides whipping and the stocks was needed in dealing with the poor, and so the Poor Law system was built up, by which each parish was required to look after its own poor.

The parish overseers would take wandering beggars, examine them, often whip them, and then return them to their native parish, there to be supported by the rates.

Two Hampshire examples of this procedure will serve as illustrations.

The Crondall overseers, in 1598, took a certain Margaret Hyller, begging and wandering. After punishing her "for her roguish life" they sent her on from parish to parish to her home at Haslemere, Surrey. But the Haslemere overseers would not have her; they had burden enough already. Seven times she was sent back to Crondall, and seven times returned to Haslemere by the Crondall overseers. But the eighth time, "being sent, they returned her not." All this time Margaret had been passing to and fro, living on the parishes *en route*.

Another case is more amusing—Thomas Smyth, thirty years of age, is described as "of a mean or middle stature, blackgrained, black hair, and very long counterfeitings (i.e. beggar's tales), his speech and his gesture somewhat like one that had been in Bedlam. Howbeit, by conference had with him, we found him a mere counterfeit and a rogue, who, with Mary his wife and two little children were taken and sent straight to Dover"—but not until the whip had again been applied.

Many years were to pass before overseers and others learned better methods of dealing with the poor. Of these methods a later chapter will have something to say.

CHAPTER XXI

HAMPSHIRE TOWNS IN TUDOR TIMES

In Chapter XII the fact was mentioned that Hampshire has long been the county of small towns. It was during the reigns of the Tudors that the towns settled down under the system of government, and with the customs of trade and police, which remained until 1834 when the Municipal Reform Act set up our modern corporations. So, although the title of this chapter refers to Tudor times only, the description of town-life which it gives would be true of periods much later than that of the Tudors.

Edward VI, travelling through southern England in 1552, found Portsmouth " too huge great, for within the walls are fair and large closes and much vacant room ". Southampton he thought handsome, " and for the bignesse of it as faire houses as be at London." He did not visit Winchester, but we know that that city was declining during the Tudor and Stuart periods. A writer in Charles I's reign describes it as " an ancient city like a body without a soul ", and declares that in walking from one end to the other he saw no more than thirty people. The other towns, Andover, Romsey, Basingstoke, Petersfield, Christchurch, and the rest, were for the most part in a similar state of decline or stagnation.

Yet there was one respect in which the towns certainly were growing, and that was in the completeness and thoroughness of their methods of government. In Chapter XII we saw how many of the Hampshire towns obtained their early Charters, and how some of them—Southampton, Winchester, and Portsmouth in particular—secured the right of electing their own mayors. In the time of Henry VI the sovereigns of England began the practice of setting up complete " Corporations " in the towns, by granting them " Charters of Incorporation ". Southampton received such a charter from Henry VI, granting that the town should be " incorporated for ever of one mayor, two bailiffs, and burgesses to be one community perpetual, incorporate in word and deed, by the name of the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses " &c. Winchester was incorporated under Queen Elizabeth, with a mayor, six aldermen, two bailiffs, two constables, and other officers, together with a council of " twenty-four persons of the said city of the better, more discreet, and more honest sort ".

Portsmouth, likewise, received a charter from Elizabeth setting up the corporation of " the Mayor and Burgesses of the Borough of Portsmouth ". In 1599, Andover received a similar charter, and Basingstoke obtained one from Queen Elizabeth's successor, James I (see p. 186). Lymington was also incorporated. The effect of these charters was to place the control of each

town in the hands of a small number of men. The number of "Burgesses" or freemen of the town became fewer and fewer, and each corporation became in time a small body of men who could do very much as they pleased (see Chapter XXV). Now one reason why the kings granted these charters was to enable

Commencement of King James's Charter to Basingstoke, 1622

their Ministers to influence the election of members of Parliament. The Tudor sovereigns, especially, did all they could to fill the House of Commons with courtiers and gentry who would always support the royal policy. So they not only set up in the towns "Corporations", which would do as they wished, but they also created additional parliamentary "boroughs" by allowing quite small places to send members. Since Edward I's reign

only Winchester, Portsmouth, and Southampton had regularly been represented. The Tudors once more summoned members from three other old boroughs, Petersfield, Christchurch, and Andover; and, in addition, new parliamentary boroughs were created at Stockbridge, Whitchurch, and Lymington.

The example of Andover will illustrate for us the way in which great men used the small boroughs in order to place their own supporters in the House of Commons. The Earl of Leicester (Elizabeth's favourite), offered in 1584 to nominate and pay both of the Andover members, as the town was unwilling to find the money. Of course he would nominate men who would do as he wished.

Small as our towns were in Tudor days, they seem to have had a great number of officials. Some of these have already been mentioned. Chief of all was the mayor, who was now becoming a most dignified person. Thus the Mayor of Winchester was required never to appear on horseback without his red gown. One mayor was a fish-dealer, and he was not permitted to go to Southampton to buy fish unless a servant accompanied him to carry the basket. Another mayor was an innkeeper, and his dignity would not allow him to serve behind his own counter, unless the customer were a great personage—a Privy Councillor, an M.P., or a Justice of the Peace.

Very dignified, and often very gorgeous, were these town officers in Tudor times. The scarlet gowns, the chains of office, the town maces, and all the other badges of dignity and pomp which we associate with mayors and corporations to-day, reached their greatest magnificence in Tudor times.

The chief industry of the townspeople was still agriculture. At Basingstoke the town court often had to deal with such offences as the allowing of pigs to stray into the corn, the straying of sheep, the breaking of hedges, and the offence of placing more than the proper number of cattle upon the town pastures. Portsmouth, too, had extensive fields. For at the town court we hear complaints of

stray cattle ; of a " manggy horse " on the town common ; of stray dogs worrying sheep ; and of an unsatisfactory " Coward " (i.e. cow herd), who fails in " kepying of the towne kyne, but puttith a pore child to the kepynge of them which cannot rule them ". It would be difficult even to this day to find a Hampshire town without its town lands, even though the lands are now more for ornament than use.

But other industries, besides agriculture, were also carried on in the towns. Weaving of woollens was perhaps the chief, for it was carried on in almost every town, though mainly in Alton, Basingstoke, Alresford and Winchester. Glove-making was another Basingstoke industry, Christchurch manufactured silk, Lymington had extensive salt-works, and around Petersfield some iron was worked. In each town, however small, the men of each trade were organized in their own fellowship or guild. Southampton, for example, had its " fellowships ", or " corporations " of bakers, barbers, brewers, butchers, tailors, cap-makers, chandlers, shoemakers ; and several others. The reason for organizing the trades in this way was to enable the Government or town authorities to regulate trade as they wished. Another reason was to protect the townsmen against competition, for no one might carry on a trade unless he were a member of the " fellowship " of that trade. To become a member, a man had either to be a native of the town, or to serve a long apprenticeship to a master who was already a member. Sometimes strangers tried to break the rule. At Portsmouth town court in 1562, complaint was made of men who " come crepying into this towne under coler of the Queen's Majestie's workers, and use to work at their occupacyons in corners as taylers, shoemakers and such like, which were more meter to serve with some honest master of these craftes ".

Strict rules were made for each trade, and every man was bound to observe the rules of his craft. Brewers were to brew ale of proper strength, bakers to make loaves of proper weight, and the prices of both bread and ale were regulated by the town court. The number of

"tipplers" (in this case, retail sellers of beer) was limited by the town; cobblers were prevented from doing the work of shoemakers; glovers were not to interfere with skinners; and, in fact, no trade of the town was free from careful regulation. Some of the rules are very interesting. For example, the Southampton brewers in 1577 were ordered to cease using iron-bound carts, partly because of the damage they caused to the paving of the streets, but still more because the jolting caused the beer to froth up, "in such sort that the barrels seem to be full when

THE WINCHESTER BUSHEL (TIME OF HENRY VII)
The standard measure for the town and district in Tudor times.

they are brought, but when they are settled they lack some a gallon of beer and some more, to the enriching of the brewers, and the great defect and hindrance of the town." Evidently, short measure was more serious than damaged paving-stones. Again, butchers in most towns were required to have a bull "baited" by dogs before it was killed, the rope and collar and bull-ring being provided by the town. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the custom of regulating trade in such detail was given up.

To complete our picture, let us turn to the old town-records to find some information about the state of the streets. From what these records tell us it is easy to understand why the plague came so often to our towns and why its ravages were so dreadful. There seems to have been a dung heap at every corner, pigs were kept in every backyard, drinking-water in wells and streams was polluted by all kinds of filth, and the streets were

a dumping ground for all kinds of rubbish—a Basingstoke man even threw a dead horse into the roadway! The Mayor of Southampton in 1576 had "a greate heape of soyle and roobidge" (rubbish) before his door, while the good people of Portsmouth complain of hogs loose in the streets, and of women washing linen at the town wells. A little later (in Charles I's reign) the Portsmouth people complain of those who set barrels and tubs in the streets "to y^{e} great danger and hurte of y^{e} king's leigg poepell".

The police arrangements were hardly more satisfactory than the sanitary, and the country-towns were in this respect almost as bad as the seaports. The townsmen undertook in turns the duty of watching the various "wards" (ward = guard), and each man was required to keep himself provided with proper weapons. Nevertheless, robbery, violence, and even murder were not uncommon. In Portsmouth, in 1568, one Hugh Salter kept a fencing school, and the people, knowing what trouble might arise, asked the mayor to look into the matter "for ther is some tyme men like tow gow together by the yeares abought hit".

Every town had its "cage", or lock-up; its cucking-stool (or ducking-stool) for offending women—

> That stool, the dread of every scolding quean;

its stocks for rogues and vagabonds; and perhaps a pillory and whipping-post. The old accounts of Hampshire towns frequently refer to payments for the repair of these instruments of punishment, so widely used in an age when punishments were less merciful and more vigorous than they are now.

CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER XXII

THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLES

With the accession of the Stuarts we come closer to that series of events which led directly to the Great Rebellion under Charles I. The causes of that war, as every history book points out, were connected almost entirely with the desire entertained by both James I and Charles I to rule as absolute monarchs. This desire led them to adopt all those measures—illegal taxation, unpopular foreign policy, suppression of Puritanism, and the rest—which at last brought about the outbreak. Our Hampshire history illustrates very well the gradual growth of discontent that marked the reigns of James I and Charles I.

In 1603 James was at Winchester, having left London to avoid the plague. At Winchester, Raleigh and others were tried for alleged conspiracies against the king. But the real conspirators seem to have been the king's ministers, especially Cecil the Secretary, and Coke the Attorney-General. They wanted Raleigh out of the way, and were really themselves conspiring against *him*. So bitter and so unjust were they towards him, that the good people of Winchester became the warm supporters of Raleigh, whereas at first they had been hot against him. The hall of Wolvesey was the scene of this historic trial.

James was again in Hampshire in 1609, when Romsey received its Charter, and in 1623 he passed through Basingstoke and Andover.

Of all the troubles of the Stuarts those arising from Puritanism were perhaps the most serious. The Puritans were never so strong in Hampshire as they were in some

parts of England. Yet the Puritan movement steadily grew here also. Bishop Cooper of Winchester had tried to check its growth even in Elizabeth's reign, but had only drawn down on himself an attack from the unknown "Martin Marprelate", who boasted that he had made "the Cooper's hoopes to flye off, and the Bishop's tubs to leake out of all crye".

But genuine Puritanism was neither violent nor coarse, like "Martin". The true Puritan honestly strove to bring about a real reform in manners and ways of living. Thus, at Lymington in 1625 an order was made "against drunkennesse and disorderlie tiplinge, against the abusinge the sacred name of Almightie God by vain swearinge and blaspheminge, and against the profanation of the Lorde's daie called Sonday". At Portsmouth measures were taken against the players of unlawful games such as "Dice, Shuffle-boards, Kettle-pins, Ninepins, and Billiards". Southampton town courts made repeated attempts to reform manners. Even the barbers in 1608 were ordered in future to trim no beards on the Lord's Day, "unless it should be such gentlemen strangers as should that day resort to the town." Steps were also taken to reduce the number of ale-houses.

In the villages the same process of change was going on. Not only was the village ale-house much more closely watched, but an end was made of the merry and often unseemly revelries which had centred in the parish church. The people of a parish were still required to support their church with offerings just as they had done before the Reformation. Often, in Hampshire, wealthy parishioners would leave sheep or oxen to the church, and these would be hired out by the church-wardens for an annual rent. Or the wardens might raise money by means of a rate, by gifts, or by fees obtained from pew-holders. One favourite method of raising money could not, however, be tolerated by the Puritans, and was abolished; no doubt, quite rightly. This was the method of holding a "Church Ale", a common form of festivity in Hampshire in the days of Elizabeth, "in the which with leapynge, dansynge, and kyssyng they mayntene

FRONT OF BRAMSHILL HOUSE
Built between 1607 and 1612. A fine example of the kind of Architecture known as "Late Renaissance" or "Early Jacobean".

the profett of their church." One was held at Wootton St. Lawrence, for example, in 1600. For several weeks before the event took place, subscriptions and gifts were being gathered in by the churchwardens. Then, one July day, the great feast was held. Visitors paid their entrance fee, just as we should in these days to a bazaar, and sat down to a right royal meal. Mr. Churchwarden kept proper account of the wheat bought for making bread; of the calves, lambs, sheep, chickens, eggs, and butter that were consumed; of the 5½ bushels of malt and the hops from which the ale was brewed; and of the payments to minstrels and players who enlivened the feast and kept the dance going afterwards. A handsome profit of £12 14*s.* 1*d.*, "all things discharged" was left for parish purposes.

Puritanism, however, put an end to all this. Even in 1585 an old writer could say that "Church ales, help ales, and soul ales, called also dirge ales, with the heathenish rioting at bride ales, are well diminished".

Not only did the Puritans aim at reforms in manners: they wished also to bring about changes in the church services. They were inclined to neglect some of the special observances and ceremonies required by the Church, and to attach most importance to the preaching of the Word. At Portsmouth, in 1625, complaint was made of "such as do come in late to hear the sermon, and will not come to hear divine service read". Similar complaints were made in other places. Many Hampshire churches set up fine new pulpits like the one shown on p. 196. Often the sermons of the parish clergyman were not enough for the people, and where they could afford it they appointed special preachers called "lecturers" to preach to them on week-days. Quarrels frequently broke out between these lecturers and the parish clergy. Archbishop Laud tried to suppress them by force, but the Long Parliament encouraged them. For in 1641 that Parliament ordered "That in Southampton, Winchester, Alton, Alresford, and Andover, the Parishioners shall have liberty to make choice of such Men for to be Lecturers in their several Parishes as they themselves shall agree upon, and as they

will pay. And the Ministers of the several Parishes are hereby required to admit of such Ministers as shall be

"Jacobean" Pulpit at Odiham (1637)

so agreed upon, as aforesaid, by the Parishioners". Some of the parish clergy still resisted. The Vicar of Andover had actually to be summoned before Parliament, so strongly did he resist the entry of Mr. Symonds, the Town Lecturer, into his church.

Archbishop Laud tried to check the Puritans by holding a strict inquiry into the state of the Church in the Province of Canterbury. His officer reported that the Winchester diocese was " well ordered ", though he found it necessary to insist on better order in the cathedral. This good report was largely due to the work of two bishops, the saintly Bishop Andrewes, and the vigorous Neile, who became Archbishop of York. One point on which Laud insisted was the proper railing-in of the Communion Table, and several Hampshire churches can still show the rails which were set up in Laud's time, or shortly afterwards. Bentley, Tichborne, Monk Sherborne, Greatham, and St. Mary Bourne are instances.

But Laud and his friends failed to do justice to the earnestness and sincerity of the Puritans, and so the struggle between Puritans and Parliament on the one side, and Church and King on the other became more and more acute. King Charles's illegal taxation had made matters worse. One form of this taxation was severely felt in Hampshire. This was the " billeting " of troops on private people. In the years 1626 and 1627, when Charles was engaged in the French War, the coast towns, Lymington, Southampton and Portsmouth, were at their wits' end to know how to deal with the crowds of noisy, unpaid, drunken, and plundering troops with which they were infested. In 1635 the sum of nearly £1,000 was still owing to Southampton alone for expenses incurred in billeting troops. Since many of the soldiers were half-tamed Irishmen we can imagine the state of the towns on which they were let loose.

The " pressed " troops collected from Hampshire for the French War were not much better. For the commander at Portsmouth, writing to the Deputy-Lieutenant of the county, told him in plain English: " You sent for your 200 men about 130 of the basest beggars and the poorest boyes and lousey raskalls that I ever did see for souldiers ; I cannot blame you that you desired to rid your countie of them for 16 pence a man."

Portsmouth, perhaps, felt the pinch less, for war nearly always brought her prosperity, and many of her people

were protected by special charter from compulsory billeting of troops. Buckingham was at Portsmouth collecting troops for the war with France when he fell to the assassin's dagger, while the king was staying at Southwick, just beyond the Portsdown Hills.

Charles I's tax of Ship-money bore heavily on our county. A sum of £6,000 was demanded from the whole shire, and of this Southampton's share was £195, Winchester's £190, Portsmouth's £70, and other towns in proportion.

When the Long Parliament met and the conflict at last broke out, Hampshire was divided. The townspeople were mainly on the Parliament side, while the county gentry supported the king. Every borough except Winchester was represented in the Long Parliament by opponents of the king, and of Winchester's two members only one, Sir William Ogle, was a Royalist. Some few of the county gentry sided with Parliament. Such were the Wallops, the Jervoises of Whitchurch, Norton of Alresford, and the Lisles. But the Church establishment of Winchester, the earls of the county, and most of the lesser gentry were staunch supporters of the king.

And now one party of Hampshire men has drawn the sword on the other. Let us in the next chapter recount the stirring events that were to happen before the sword returned once more to its sheath.

CHAPTER XXIII

HAMPSHIRE AT STRIFE

The sword was drawn in the summer of 1642. In Hampshire the Parliament supporters were the better-prepared, and they at once set to work to secure the county. The navy, for the most part, sided with the Parliament, and so Portsmouth had to be taken from the Royalists. The place fell on September 7, 1642, after

Colonel Goring had defended it, with little spirit, for about a month. The capture of "the strongest and best fortified town then in the kingdom" struck dismay into Cavalier hearts. Next the Roundheads turned to Southampton. In December, 1642, a warship was sent to demand the surrender of the town—"a considerable place of merchandise". The mayor and corporation, feeling themselves at the mercy of the navy, surrendered their town, although many Royalists were among its inhabitants. Southampton and Portsmouth both remained in the hands of the Parliament until the end of the war. Lymington, also, was held by the same party.

On the land side the county was not so easily secured. The Cavaliers held Andover and Basing House, and by capturing Marlborough in Wiltshire, they established themselves firmly on the great road to the west from London. But Sir William Waller, the Parliament's commander in the Southern Counties had seized Farnham Castle, and so blocked the way to London on the Surrey side. Pushing on to Winchester in pursuit of the Cavaliers who had retired there from Marlborough, he drove the enemy behind the shelter of the city walls. A spirited attack followed, and the Cavaliers were forced to take refuge in the Castle. In a very short time they were driven to surrender. The citizens, strongly Royalist, were forced to pay £1,000, or submit to the plunder of their city. The Roundheads *did* break into the cathedral, and committed untold damage there, throwing down the organ, destroying the Communion rails, and playing havoc with monuments, windows, and decorations. A Roundhead writer tells of "the sweet cathedralists, in whose houses and studies they found great store of Popish books, pictures, and crucifixes, which the souldiers carried up and downe the streets and market place to make themselves merry". They also "piped with the organ-pipes" of the Minster and made a bonfire of their spoils. Yet the Roundheads could plead in excuse that they were but retaliating for the way in which the Cavaliers had pillaged Marlborough.

Sussex and Surrey were also held by the Parliament. Only on the north, where the king held Oxford and Reading, was the way really open for the Cavaliers, and from both those places the troops of Prince Rupert penetrated into North Hampshire, gathering food and supplies. The Hampshire Royalists kept open their communications with the king at Oxford, and at the

THE DEFENDER OF BASING
The Marquis of Winchester.

same time obstructed the path of the Roundheads westwards by their possession of Basing House, where the Marquis of Winchester made that gallant defence which eclipsed all other achievements of heroism throughout the whole war. True to the motto of its chief—"Love Loyalty,"—Basing House stood siege after siege, and still kept the standard of King Charles flying until, in 1645, when the king's cause was hopeless, Cromwell himself with irresistible force laid it low. English history contains

no more stirring record than that of the three years' siege of gallant Basing.

At the beginning of 1643, all southern Hampshire was in Parliament hands. The north, with its great road to the west, had yet to be won. Sir William Waller, therefore, moved out from Farnham, at the beginning of March, harassed by Prince Rupert's cavalry from Oxford, who were busily clearing the country of supplies, and had already come into conflict with Waller's outposts at Alton. But Rupert retreated, and Waller resumed his march westwards with the object of crushing the Royalists in Wiltshire and Somerset. Passing through Winchester, he extorted a further £500 from the hapless citizens, and at Romsey his men did much damage to the Abbey Church. A few months later he returned with a shattered army into Hampshire, hopelessly beaten by Sir Ralph Hopton and Prince Maurice. Bristol and nearly all the west country had passed under Cavalier control, and now Hampshire, the middle county of the south, was to become the battle-ground between Royalist west and Parliamentarian east. Sometimes our county was the eastern front of the Royalists, sometimes the western front of the Roundheads ; in either case it was the scene of much fighting during the second half of 1643 and the whole of 1644.

The defeated Roundheads saw that Basing, which had already, in 1642, beaten off one attack, was now the key of the position. Could they take that fortress they would hold the road to their own head quarters in London, and cut off the Hampshire Royalists from the king's head quarters at Oxford. Colonel Norton—" Idle Dick Norton " as he was called—hearing of Waller's defeat, turned to attack Basing. King Charles sent from Oxford a body of musketeers, who arrived just in time to save the fortress. The Marquis, with his garrison, now set to work to strengthen the place, and when Waller arrived from Farnham in November, with a force of 7,000 men, the garrison were ready for him. One attack after another was beaten off, and though Waller's men did win the " Grange "—the great brick barn which still

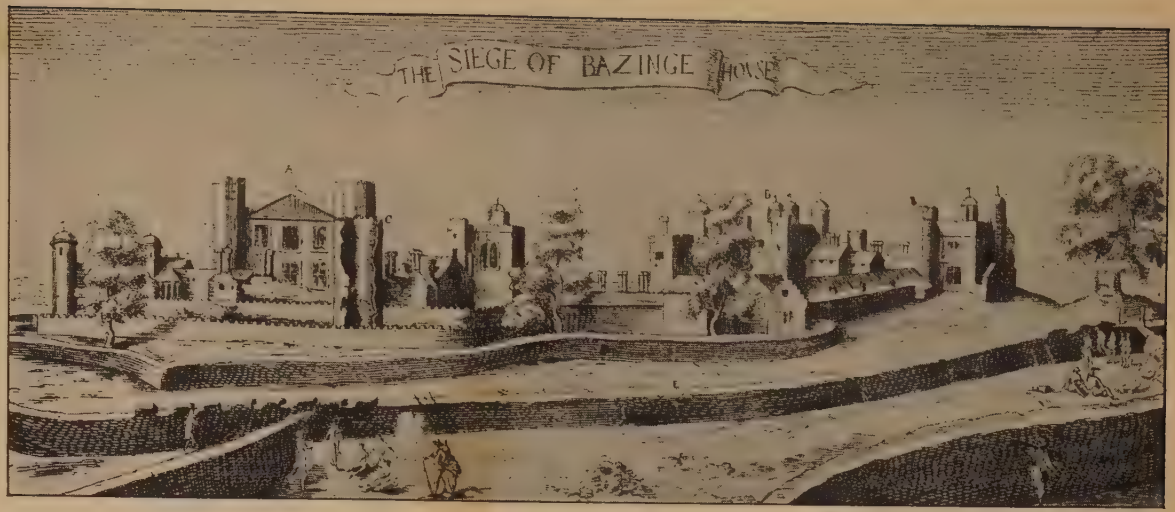
remains—they had to retreat unsuccessful before the fast gathering Cavaliers. For Hopton was now at Winchester, and was preparing for the advance towards London which he intended soon to make.

Hopton now began the advance from Winchester with his western "Woodheads", as the Roundheads called his troops. His stay at Winchester had cost the city almost as much as the plunderings of the Roundheads. For example, the inmates of Magdalen Hospital, an ancient almshouse then standing on the eastern side of Winchester, petitioned the general, declaring that his soldiers "have not only devoured nine quarters of their seede barley for this season, and have broken down and burnt up" all available timber, "but have also used violence to the house of God, burning up all the seats and pues in the church, as also the Communion Table, and all other wainscot and timber there that they could lay their hands on; and have converted the sayde house of God into a stable for horses." Several Hampshire churches —Upham and Crondall among the number—contain in their accounts records of payments made for cleaning out the church "when the soldiers were here".

Hopton spent some days skirmishing in the triangle of country, which has Farnham, Basing, and Alton respectively at its angles. But, failing to make headway against Waller, he marched into Sussex to attack Arundel. Immediately, the Roundheads began to "beat up the quarters" of the Royalist garrisons in Hampshire. The Southampton Roundheads surprised a party at Romsey. At Alton, Colonel John Bolles, hopelessly outnumbered by Waller's troopers, fought to the last in churchyard and church, and died rather than he would surrender. Alton Church door and the pillars of the tower still bear the marks of this conflict, and in Winchester Cathedral as well as in Alton Church an inscription tells of one whose

"Bloud was there so nobly spent,
This is his Tombe; that Church his Monument."

The early days of 1644 were spent by both sides in



Basing House during the Siege
D. The Royalists' Breastwork. E. Parliamentarian Breastwork.

gathering strength for the coming battle. On March 29 Waller, moving from Petersfield, and Hopton from Winchester, met on the Downs between Cheriton and Bramdean. The Cavaliers suffered a defeat so severe that they never again made much headway in Hampshire. Winchester was again seized, though the Cavaliers held the Castle; and Ringwood, Andover, and Bishop's Waltham were taken by the victorious Roundheads.

But unconquered Basing still held out. For nearly four months during 1644 the brave garrison withstood another and more determined siege by the forces of Colonel Norton. A relieving force from Oxford, under Colonel Gage, after a brilliant march, cut its way through the besiegers with supplies and reinforcements, so once more the Roundheads were baffled.

By the year 1645 the king's cause was hopeless. After Naseby, the Roundheads had only to crush the small Royalist garrisons which still held out in some places. Winchester Castle and Basing House were the last strongholds in Hampshire, and Cromwell himself came to reduce these. On October 5, Lord Ogle, judging further resistance hopeless, surrendered Winchester Castle. Then came the turn of Basing. Cromwell's force was overwhelming, his artillery was very strong, and his mere presence was worth another army. Yet still

> The noble Marquis would not yield,
> But scorned all base conditions.

This time, however, no relief could be hoped for, and, fighting to the last, the brave garrison—or all that was left of it—lay at the mercy of the conqueror. The marquis and his officers were made prisoners; fire broke out and destroyed much that war had spared; and on October 15 the House of Commons resolved that Basing "be forthwith slighted and demolished", and that "whosoever will fetch away any stone, brick, or other materials of Basing House shall have the same for his or their pains".

The work was only too well done, and to-day the dried-up moat, and the brick foundations of the house, afford

uncertain guidance to the visitor who seeks to picture on the spot itself the many conflicts that raged about the walls and towers of

"Gallant Basing!"

CHAPTER XXIV

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

In December, 1648, the captive King Charles was conducted from Hurst Castle through Hampshire, by Ringwood, Lyndhurst, Romsey, Winchester, Alresford, and Farnham, on his way to the last sad scenes of Westminster and Whitehall. From the day of his death in 1649 to the flight of his son, James II, in 1688, the history of England is the history of the way in which the results of the great war worked themselves out. So, in this chapter, we will ask how Hampshire fared during this period, when England was reaping what had been sown in the terrible years of conflict.

After the king's death, Hampshire, with the rest of England passed under the military rule, first of the Council of State, then of Lord Protector Cromwell. As the Commonwealth became more and more unpopular, the method of governing by military force was more and more employed. Winchester was overawed, and both Wolvesey and the Castle fortifications destroyed. At Southampton, when strong opposition was shown, the Protector ordered, in 1655, the deposition of the mayor, sheriff, and an alderman. Even this was not effectual, for next year, Major-General Goffe, commanding the military district which included Hampshire, reported complaints of "the unworthy carriage of the magistrates of the town of Southampton against the godly party". Portsmouth, always more military in spirit, was less hostile to Cromwell, but in Hampshire generally the Protector's Government grew steadily more unpopular. His son, Richard Cromwell, had married the daughter of a gentleman at

Hursley, and though he was active in the county on his father's side, he could not stave off the coming downfall.

The Puritans had gained the upper hand in our county some years before the king's death, and had set to work at once to break utterly the power of their opponents. The hand of triumphant Puritanism fell most heavily on the county gentry and on the Church. The property of those who had fought for the king was "sequestrated", that is, the rents and proceeds were appropriated by Parliament. The owners could recover it only by payment of heavy fines.

The Church suffered still more severely. The broad lands of the Winchester diocese were sold, and the Bishop retired to Soberton to live on the benevolence of his friends. Parish clergy who would not sign the "Solemn League and Covenant" and adopt Puritan methods of worship were cast adrift, some, like John Hagar of Chilcomb, and Lewis Alcock of North Stoneham, to suffer the most bitter poverty. Peter Heylin, a learned historian, who was ejected from Alresford, lost his library of valuable books worth at least £1,000.

The library of Winchester Cathedral fared almost as badly. Indeed, it might have disappeared altogether had not an official, John Chase, succeeded in rescuing a great number of valuable books and manuscripts. Yet the Winchester people still cared for their great cathedral, for in 1653, when it was rumoured that "Trinitie Church near Winton" (the cathedral, that is) was to be abolished, they petitioned against the proposal to destroy "an auncient and most beautifull structure, the most convenient and spatious place of assemblinge for the hearinge of God's Word". Next year they raised a subscription for its repair.

Elsewhere the Church records contain traces of the Puritan supremacy. At Christchurch, the accounts of the Churchwardens, under the date 1659, have the curious note: "All following, to 1661, and many years before, were marred by Mr. Warner in the presbytering way." "Mr. Warner", was, of course, the Puritan minister who had taken the place of the parish clergyman.

Moyles Court

Upon Cromwell's death, his son Richard, " a very good neighbourly man " from Hursley, went to London to take his father's place. But soon the country was crying out for the restoration of Charles II, and in Hampshire Portsmouth alone stood out for the Parliament. Some old Roundhead veterans put themselves at the head of the garrison and, for a time, defied the king's party. But they had to give in, and in Hampshire, as in the rest of England, " the king enjoyed his own again."

Charles II's first Parliament proceeded at once to punish the Puritan leaders. A few received a free pardon; some purchased pardons at a heavy price; others suffered loss of lands and imprisonment. Sir Robert Wallop of Hurstbourne was one of these. He had been one of Charles I's judges, and, as a " regicide ", he lost his lands, and was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died in 1667.

The Church was restored along with the king. Bishop Morley came to Winchester in 1662 and proceeded to rebuild and repair the houses of the canons in the Close, to repair the bishop's houses, and on the north side of the Close to build " Bishop Morley's College " as a home for the widows of clergymen. He was a benefactor to the cathedral library, and did not forget the needs of the city, for he strove to improve the Itchen navigation between Winchester and Southampton.

But before the parish clergy could return the Puritan ministers had to be ejected. Nearly all of them chose to leave their livings rather than adopt the restored English Prayer Book. Many of them set up Independent or " Congregationalist " bodies of their own, and thus originated the Nonconformists as distinct from the Church of England. Nathaniel Robinson, of Southampton, gathered a congregation in Above Bar Chapel, to which belonged the father of Isaac Watts, the writer of hymns. John Warren founded a congregation at Romsey; Walter Marshall of Hursley went to Gosport; and John Hook of King's Worthy to Basingstoke. John Hickes, Independent Minister of Portsmouth, we shall hear of again. For the Nonconformists were not allowed to rest in peace,

and the Conventicle Act was passed to prevent their assemblies. John Hickes was one of those who refused to obey the new law. In 1677 he was accused at Portsmouth town court of "preaching and teaching in a sedicious conventicle or meeting". The owner of the house where the conventicle was held was fined £20, and each person present 5*s*. Eight years after, Hickes was a warm supporter of the Duke of Monmouth, and when the Duke's rebellion collapsed, Hickes was one of the two fugitives who hid in the house of Dame Alice Lisle and brought on her the terrible penalty of the law inflicted by Jeffreys.

Another religious body, the Quakers, suffered under both Cromwell and Charles II. The Quakers had a practice of speaking to the people in church whenever they felt the impulse. Thus, in 1656, Ambrose Rigg, "for uttering a Christian exhortation in the place of public worship at Southampton," was sent to prison, where he was soon joined by others. At Baughurst and Southwick Quakers were imprisoned for similar "Christian advice", and at Alton, in particular, they suffered severely. The persecution continued after the Restoration. For in 1663 six Portsmouth Quakers sent up a petition from their prison, declaring that, "in Felton's Hole the waves of the sea have so beat in on one of us in winter seasons that he has stood up to his ankles; for the which things the Lord God hath and will visit them that were the actors therein." These things sound very terrible now, but we must remember that in those days the idea of tolerating differences from the governing religion was only just appearing.

The plague that ravaged London in 1665 attacked Hampshire also. In 1666 Winchester was in its grip. The business of the city was almost at a standstill. The ordinary market had to be suspended. Instead of coming to market, the country people laid their wares on a large flat stone outside the West Gate, and then withdrew, while the citizens furtively stole out and took the goods, leaving the price behind. Whether this story be true or not, it is true that the city went through dreadful

experiences. But Southampton's plight was worse. The town in 1665 was almost cut off from the outside world, and a large sum of money was raised in the South of England for its relief. Portsmouth was less afflicted, and Lymington, we hear, took special precautions, for in 1665 the town paid "For 14 days and nights watching in dangerous times when the sickness was in other places". The "watching" was for possible infectious cases.

Towards the end of his reign King Charles II commenced to build a great palace at Winchester on the site of the old Castle. Only a portion was completed, however, and this has now been converted into barracks.

Upon the accession of James II, Hampshire became involved in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. The Mayor of Lymington raised a body of men for him. On the other side, Bishop Mews of Winchester, though he was seventy years old, led a Hampshire contingent at Sedgmoor, directed the artillery, and was himself wounded. The duke fled for concealment to the New Forest, hoping to find friends and secure a passage overseas. Hunted down by the Sussex militia, however, he was captured near Ringwood in a half-starved condition. Then came the "Bloody Assize" of Judge Jeffreys, who, seated in Winchester Hall, treated Dame Alice Lisle so ferociously for concealing the fugitives at Moyles Court, near Ellingham. The old lady would have been burnt, but her friends succeeded in getting the sentence altered to beheading. Her grave may still be seen near the main doorway of Ellingham Church.

But the short reign of James II was soon to end in disaster. The unfortunate king, retreating before the advance of the Prince of Orange from Torbay, stayed the night at Andover. Here he supped with Prince George, the husband of his daughter Anne, and the Duke of Ormond, both of whom rode off to join the opposite party as soon as James had gone to bed.

The Revolution of 1688 was soon an accomplished fact. The next two chapters will tell of Hampshire life during the century that followed it.

THE LAST TWO CENTURIES

CHAPTER XXV

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. I

The Revolution of 1688 finally established, in theory, the supremacy of Parliament. But for a century and a half real power rested neither with the king nor with the Commons, but with the aristocracy and landed gentry, who held the "rotten boroughs", and secured there the election of their own nominees. Hampshire contained a considerable number of such boroughs, where voters were few, bribery easy, and the town officers quite willing to meet the wishes of the neighbouring duke, earl, or gentleman.

Winchester had only about sixty voters, and for a long time one member was returned by the Duke of Bolton's "interest", the other by that of the Duke of Chandos. Portsmouth fights were keener, especially at the time of the American war. The Government of Lord North was so irritated in 1774 by the strong opposition of the "patriotic" party in Portsmouth, that steps were taken to disqualify burgesses of that party, as well as the mayor and several aldermen. Thus was the opposition paralysed for a time. Southampton, with 700 voters, was a large constituency, which could be influenced by Government by means of the revenue and customs officers who had votes.

It was in the small boroughs, however, that the influence of the aristocracy was supreme. At Lymington, a long struggle between the Paulett interest and the Bolton interest ended in a victory for the Pauletts. For Colonel Paulett was elected Mayor, and, as mayor, he created enough burgesses to swamp the Bolton majority.

At Andover the people tried to secure the right of election for the whole community on the lines of "One Man one Vote". But in 1702 Parliament decided that the right of election rested with the "close" Corporation of twenty-four burgesses, and in spite of riots and disturbances this remained the rule. At Christchurch the custom was similar. (See Ch. XXI).

In 1734 the powerful "Bolton" interest was opposed in a county election by Anthony Chute of the Vyne near Basingstoke. On this occasion the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Basingstoke received from the Duke of Bolton (then at Hackwood) a very plain letter, which ran:

"GENTLEMEN,

"It is with great Reluctancy that I am obliged to oppose Mr. Chute's election for the county, but since he has put it out of my power to promote his Interests, I desire you will not give him your votes at the next election. I will say no more to you, though I have provocation enough, but the not voting at all will equally oblige.

"Yr Humble Servt,

"BOLTON."

Petersfield and Whitchurch were pocket boroughs. In these there were no permanent voters. Electors were given their qualifications when elections came round, recorded their votes, and then surrendered their qualifications.

Of all the Hampshire boroughs, however, Stockbridge was most famed for bribery and corruption, and several times narrowly missed disfranchisement. The voters' "price" was put at £60 per man, and an election would cost the "patron" of the borough thousands of pounds. It was of Stockbridge that these lines were written, when the Septennial Act was passed (1716):

Sad melancholy every visage wears,
What! no election come in seven long years?
Our streets no more with tides of ale shall float,
Nor Cobblers feast six years upon a vote.

With few exceptions Hampshire towns were quiet, sleepy places in the eighteenth century. Portsmouth,

however, was active and growing. The naval wars of the reigns of William and Anne—in the days of such Admirals as Cloudesley Shovel and Rooke—brought prosperity. Evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the great buildings which were set up in Portsmouth under the later Stuarts. Of these, the nave of the parish church is the most striking. It is an excellent example of the style of church building followed in Sir Christopher Wren's time. Fortunately funds ran out, and the intended destruction of the beautiful Early English chancel and transepts was not carried out, in spite of the vicar's ardent wish to make them like the "beauteous structure" of the nave.

Southampton, still declining in commercial importance, became a fashionable resort—the Bournemouth of those days. Andover, Basingstoke, and Petersfield were market towns on the great coach roads. Winchester, under inactive bishops and easy-going mayors, spent perhaps the sleepiest century of her existence.

Communication from town to town was not very easy. Only the very important roads were maintained in good order. Of these the chief were the great road through Basingstoke, Whitchurch, and Andover, to Salisbury and the west; and the Portsmouth road through Farnham, Liphook, and Petersfield, with its branch to Winchester by way of Alton and Alresford. Most of the other roads were mere trackways, traversed by long files of packhorses. Traces of one of these passing from Winchester to Hungerford, still exist in the neighbourhood of Andover. Horace Walpole, the famous letter-writer, visiting his friends at the Vyne near Basingstoke, declared that the house "must be approached on stilts," and that "no post but a dove could come from it". Our deep Hampshire lanes in wet weather were either miniature torrents or impassable quagmires.

Dangers from highwaymen were serious on the many miles of open heath which travellers had to cross. The road between Winchester and Newbury was especially dreaded, because of these evil-doers. Even worse were the "Waltham Blacks", who infested the ancient "chase" around Bishop's Waltham. A special Act passed against

WINCHESTER IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

them in 1723 states that they have "in great numbers armed with swords, firearms, and other offensive Weapons, several of them with their Faces blacked, or in disguised Habits, unlawfully hunted in Forests belonging to His Majesty and in the Parks of divers of His Majesty's Subjects". The "Blacks" had cleared off nearly all the game and were much dreaded, but the Act was a most ferocious one, threatening death even to the poachers of rabbits and breakers of fences.

Quite as dangerous as "Blacks" and highwaymen were the smugglers. Many a place—Medstead and Alresford church towers among the number—is said to have been a hiding-place for smugglers' goods. In the New Forest they collected in great bands. Wagon-loads of smuggled spirits came up from Christchurch and other places on the coast convoyed by troops of armed and mounted smugglers, who laughed at the coastguard. A band of smugglers who took possession of Ambrose Cave, near Lymington, terrorized the whole country round. Troops had to be called out, the cave was surrounded, and when the captain of the gang was taken he confessed that thirty people had been murdered by his band. In 1748 the whole county rang with the story of the terribly brutal murder by another smuggler band, of a Fordingbridge shoemaker and a Southampton Customs' officer at Rowland's Castle. In 1794, when some smugglers were being brought to trial at Winchester, a body of their friends, mounted and armed, drove back the witnesses for the prosecution at Otterbourne, and the sheriff had to call out the forces of the county before justice could be done. In war-time, bodies of ill-disciplined troops, often containing men of the very worst type, added to the prevailing disorder.

On the main roads where the coaches ran there was greater safety. Overton was the end of the first stage from London for the western coaches, and here sixty horses were kept for the coach teams, while the inns of Basingstoke and Andover were kept busily employed in attending to the needs of coaches and passengers. So were the inns of Petersfield and the "Anchor" at Liphook on

the Portsmouth route. Communication with London was not difficult. From Southampton, in 1781, four vehicles left regularly each day, and several others on certain days of the week. There was also a service to Oxford weekly, and three times a week to Bath and Bristol. By the year 1803 the stage coach had replaced the old " diligence ", or " machine ", and any part of southern England could be reached with little difficulty. The population of Southampton was then no more than 8,000, so that we must consider it fortunate in its means of communication. Perhaps the Isle of Wight service accounted for some of these facilities.

From Portsmouth, in 1770, the mail left at two o'clock each afternoon, and reached London at six next morning, unless wheels came off, or the coach stuck in Cosham mud, or was stopped by highwaymen in Bere Forest. In war-time, however, communication was much improved, and by about 1800 there were several stage coaches accomplishing the journey in a little more than eight hours.

Towards the end of the century, projects for canal-making were put forward, some of them practicable, others very wild indeed. The Basingstoke Canal was opened in 1789. A Winchester to Basingstoke Canal was also proposed. In 1795 a great scheme was set on foot for cutting a canal from the sea-front at Southampton to the head of the Test estuary at Redbridge, and from there to Salisbury. The canal was actually begun, although in the broad estuary of the Test itself Southampton had easy communication with Redbridge ! So ridiculous a scheme was very happily described in the lines :

> Southampton's wise sons found their river so large,
> Tho' 'twould carry a *Ship*, 'twould not carry a *barge*.
> But soon this defect their sage noddles supply'd,
> For they cut a snug *ditch* to run close by its side.
> Like the man who, contriving a hole through his wall
> To admit his two cats, the one great, t'other small,
> Where a *great hole* was made for *great puss* to pass through,
> Had a *little hole* cut for his little cat too.

Still more wild was the scheme put forward in 1825 to cut a great canal from Portsmouth to London, large enough to carry ships! For, it was argued, vessels might then reach the capital without risking either storms or French privateers in the Straits of Dover. Fortunately, English investors were too cautious to find money for such schemes.

CHAPTER XXVI

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. II

Country life in Hampshire in the eighteenth century was peaceful enough for most people, though, for the poor, conditions were often very hard. The life of each parish centred in two institutions, the village squire and the village church. Of the squires and landowners we have already heard something. They were the men who controlled elections in the rotten boroughs; who sometimes represented a borough in Parliament themselves; who sat as Justices of the Peace to deal out smart treatment to poachers and smugglers; who met at Quarter Sessions in Winchester to make provision for the poor, to provide for the defence of the county, to maintain the county roads, and to carry out Acts of Parliament.

Of the parish church and the parish organization there is much to tell. For, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, parish officers had become servants of the State. The churchwardens, the overseers of the poor, the road surveyor, and the parish constable, all had important work to do, and all the men in the parish (and sometimes women too) took their turns in these offices. For upon the parish officers many and varied duties were imposed. They had to maintain the church and its services, to keep the king's peace, to repress vagrants and relieve the destitute, to destroy vermin such as sparrows, weasels, and foxes, and to furnish soldiers and sailors for the king's service when called upon. In addition to the officers already mentioned we generally find quite a number of

others. The parish clerk kept the church registers, played a prominent part in the church services, and sometimes even taught the village children. At Crondall we hear of a "dog-whipper" who received a guinea a year for whipping stray dogs (and occasionally troublesome boys) out of church. Bramshott had a "Fox Ketcher", and at other places we hear of haywards, hogwardens, and beadles.

The parish church itself was left almost entirely to the care of the churchwardens, and was either sadly neglected, or else repaired and "restored" in the commonest, cheapest fashion, with much paint and whitewash. At Minstead, Brockenhurst, Cheriton, Lymington, and other places, some of the work of the "Churchwarden Period" may be seen. At Wolverton (near Newbury), Old Alresford, Abbott's Ann (near Andover), and Avington (near Winchester) there are churches which were built almost throughout in this century. Within the church the most striking object would be the huge "three-decker" pulpit, with pulpit, reading desk, and clerk's desk all in one erection (like that at Minstead), covered with its crimson cloth and surmounted by the massive cushion. Crondall, in 1778, gave as much as £25 for such a cloth and cushion. For music the church had generally the amateur parish orchestra, or, if it were wealthy enough, a barrel-organ. Minstead Church still has its "Musicians' Gallery". Kingsclere parish bought a modern organ, but as no one could play it, the churchwardens exchanged it for a less showy but more playable barrel-organ.

One of the most important of parish duties was the care of the poor, and, as the eighteenth century drew on, bad harvests and costly wars rendered the office of overseer no easy one to fill. At Alresford, for example, there was only one old woman "on the parish" in 1700. In 1800 the poor-rate was £200, and in 1839, £700. As a better example, let us take the parish of North Waltham. From 1775 to 1795 the rate was from 2*s.* to 3*s.* in the £. In 1796 it was 4*s.*, and in 1801 it had reached the highest point, 9*s.* 6*d.* This sudden rise was due not only to the war, but to the practice then adopted of helping out the

labourers' wages—never more than 10*s.* a week—from the rates. Naturally, as the rates went up the farmers paid lower wages, so that the labourers were no better off in pocket and had become paupers into the bargain. Meanwhile, the price of wheat was occasionally over £5 per quarter, and a quartern loaf sometimes cost 1*s.* 3*d.*

As the numbers of the poor increased, workhouses, or "Houses of Industry" were built, with the object of providing work, at least for women and children. One was set up at East Tisted in 1772; Bramshott, Kingsley, and Headley combined to erect one in 1795. But the houses were a doubtful success. An account of Havant "House of Industry", written in 1795, says that "little work is done by any save the children, who are too young to evade the orders of the governor". So acute was the poverty of the labourers, and so alarming the growth of the rate that the Hampshire magistrates in 1795 had to consider the whole question. They recommended greater economy in managing the rates; the setting up of more Houses of Industry and Schools of Industry for Children; that employers should assist labourers with food and board them wherever possible; and that wages should be helped out of the rates.

Other expenses which the parish had to meet, besides the cost of maintaining the poor, were payments for the taking of criminals, for sending on vagabonds, for providing substitutes in the Militia for poor parishioners who were unable to do their duty, and, strangest of all, for slaughtered vermin! For sparrow-heads the "ketchers" were paid 2*d.* a dozen; a fox-head would bring the producer 1*s.*, and occasionally the wardens made payments for dead polecats and weasels.

From year to year, especially if a main road passed through the parish, the overseers or churchwardens had frequently to help deserving travellers on their way. Seamen, "soldgers", distressed foreigners, and others, shared in this charity. Lymington, for example, helped stranded "Redd Shankes", by which name, we discover, Irishmen were described.

Neighbouring parishes often quarrelled over expenses.

Petersfield, for example, prosecuted Buriton in 1741 " for bringing in a Dung Cart a sick vagrant woman, and setting her down by the roadside, where she shortly after died, and so became a charge to this Parish ".

Already readers will have noticed that the records of these parish officers seem to show that education was not very widely spread, if we are to judge from the astonishing spelling. Let us look at a few more startling examples. The parish clerk of Nateley Scures in 1780 recorded the baptism of " Luse the datear of tomas and merya permon ". At Bramshott the churchwardens speak of " Riteing the Rate and macking the Accontes ". Yateley churchwardens tell us about a document called an " After David " (they must mean an " affidavit "), and set down a certain amount for " Clerk's fees and setterer ". More startling still is the case of a Winchester teacher (!) who made out a receipt in 1739 thus :

" Recefed of Jon Godwin ye som of sefenten shillings and forpense for 4 childern skolen, from Eastear to this day Nofe (i. e. Nov.) ye 19. 17*s.* 4*d.*

" In ol is 5 skor and 4 weaks."

After this we can believe the story that a sign once appeared in the village of Droxford with the legend :

" A. B. (let us suppose), Carpenter and Bilder, Tethe pulled oute and Shavin, Land measrered & Estates look'd ovur & valeed—Gud Beare and Spirital Lickers."

But though the poor suffered much from poverty and neglect, the state of agriculture was improving. The turnip and other " roots " had been introduced into Hampshire and afforded crops which enabled the farmer to keep his cattle through the winter. (Formerly he had killed off many of them, and had salted their flesh with salt brought from the " pans " of Lymington or Langstone Harbour.) The breed of Hampshire Down sheep, once long-legged and narrow in the body, was also much improved.

When the price of wheat rose, as a result of the war and the rapid growth in the population of England, further improvements were introduced in the shape of better machinery. But most of the land still lay in strips in

"open fields", like those described in Chapter XI. The improved methods could get more from the soil, however, if the strips were abolished. So Acts of Parliament were passed at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries to provide for the enclosure of the lands in fields such as we see to-day. (Many of our Hampshire hedgerows, let us remember, have been in existence barely a hundred years.) The holders of strips either received a small patch of ground in compensation, or sold their rights to the large farmer. Thus, many who had been farmers of their own lands became paid labourers.

There was little sunshine in the life of the labourer. The poet Crabbe, who wrote of the labourer's troubles with so much sympathy, had some cause to speak thus of the labourer's mud-walled cottage :

> Go look within, and ask if peace be there :
> If peace be his—that drooping weary sire,
> Or theirs, that offspring round their feeble fire,
> Or hers, that matron pale, whose trembling hand
> Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand.

The tide at last turned and the sons of the soil came to better times, but not until that tendency had begun which we still deplore : the tendency for the population to leave the country districts.

One bright spot in country life may be mentioned to relieve a somewhat dismal chapter. It was in the eighteenth century that the famous Hambledon Club raised cricket to the proud position of the English national game. Time after time, on the crisp turf of Broadhalfpenny Down, did the famous club defeat teams representing All England. From that day to this, in all true English sports, Hampshire has manfully held her place.

CHAPTER XXVII

HAMPSHIRE IN DANGER

The great wars with the French, which extended over so many years of the eighteenth century, once more stirred Hampshire into activity. For Hampshire the naval county, Hampshire the Gate of England, was always very directly concerned in any conflict with our neighbours across the Channel. Long-continued war caused Portsmouth to grow so rapidly as to overshadow every other Hampshire town. The eight acres of dockyard which had sufficed for Henry VIII's fleet, formed but a mere corner of the great area which was occupied at the end of the eighteenth century. Barracks, mast-houses, docks, slipways, storehouses, forts, block-factories, and other essentials of a great naval arsenal sprang into existence, and Portsmouth Common was transformed into the populous district of Portsea. New building-yards were formed at other places along the coast. The most famous of these was at Buckler's Hard on the Beaulieu Estuary. The Duke of Montagu hoped to found on this opening a seaport to trade with the West Indies. But though that design failed, the Beaulieu Creek became an important shipbuilding centre. Between the years 1758 and 1809 many fine war-vessels left the slips at Buckler's Hard and took their place in the fighting line of our fleet. Most famous of them all was the *Agamemnon*, in which Nelson himself, as captain, performed some of his most brilliant achievements. It was in the *Agamemnon* that Nelson was serving when he lost his right eye.

But military as well as naval activity marked these exciting years of Hampshire's history. Bodies of regular troops or militia marched into the county to embark for foreign service or to garrison the coast towns; foreign troops, brought from Germany, came to take the place of English troops sent overseas; and every town in southern Hampshire received from time to time detachments of French prisoners.

In 1756 eight regiments of Hessians landed at Southampton. Some were quartered in the town or encamped on the outskirts. Another large body was stationed at Lymington and brought for a time prosperity to that town. Others mounted guard over the "King's House" at Winchester, where large numbers of French and Spanish prisoners were kept during the Seven Years' War. Four thousand prisoners were kept for a time at Portchester Castle, and the hulks in Portsmouth Harbour contained a goodly number.

This war will always be remembered in Hampshire because of the execution of Admiral Byng at Portsmouth in 1757.

Within fifteen years of the peace of 1763 we were again at war with France, and very shortly afterwards with Spain and Holland too. The events of these long naval wars, although many of them are connected with Portsmouth history, belong in reality to the history of England. We can say little of them here because our interest is in their effects upon Hampshire generally. Once more, in this war of 1778-83, the southern towns received foreign prisoners in charge, but fewer than formerly. For the war at sea was going against us until Rodney's victories turned the scale. Packet-boats from Southampton and Portsmouth were chased in the Channel by French and Dutch privateers, and no British war-vessel could be spared to help them. Some French, Dutch, and Spanish prisoners were quartered at Winchester, and the well-known clump of trees on St. Catherine's Hill is said to have been planted by their guards, the Gloucestershire Militia.

When the French Revolution broke out, our county was called upon to receive a large number of French *émigrés*—gentry and clergy who were fleeing from the fury of the mobs. In Winchester, a whole colony of priests established themselves in the "King's House", and were very kindly treated both by the citizens and the Government. From Lymington, a year or two later, a band of *émigrés* set out on an unsuccessful expedition to assist some of their friends who had raised a revolt in Brittany.

PORTSMOUTH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From an old print, showing Admiral Anson bringing into port French prizes taken in action off Cape Finisterre (1747).

In the great struggle against Revolutionary France and the Empire of Napoleon, England's fortunes at first sank low, and for some years Hampshire and the other counties of the south were in great danger of invasion. A county meeting was held at Winchester in April, 1794, attended by all the gentry and important officials. It was decided to raise a sum of money, with

PORTCHESTER CASTLE, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Showing quarters and barracks fitted up for prisoners and their guards.

which to maintain an increased militia, and to support the bodies of volunteer troops which were being raised, especially in the south. Over £11,000 was raised in a year, and a committee was formed to manage the county troops so long as the danger of invasion lasted. On the Continent the French successes were greater than ever after 1794. Consequently fresh volunteer bodies were raised, and the newspapers were full of accounts of

the granting of standards, of numerous reviews, and of repeated musters. In 1801, when the danger was very great, South and Central Hants possessed a volunteer force of about 1,500 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and over 800 artillery.

The people seem to have been very proud of their volunteers. The sight of red coats and prancing horses made some of the spectators fancy that the Frenchmen were already vanquished, and so the more excitable among them fell into the habit of "killing with their mouths"—of vain boasting. Here is an example from a poem written in 1794 by an over-enthusiastic admirer of the Hampshire Volunteers :

> Th' inspiring summons Hampshire lads obey ;
> Panting for Glory see them dart away ;
> Aided by Heaven all danger they defy,
> Nobly to conquer, or like Britons die.
>
> All avocations join the martial tribe,
> The Priest, the Doctor, and the legal Scribe ;
> The Mill, the Farm, the Counter all forsake,
> And to the dusty Field themselves betake.

So far, our author is quite moderate. But then he finishes with a piece of terrible "stage-thunder" and makes himself ridiculous :

> Frenchmen and Traitors in the Wreck be hurl'd ;
> And Hampshire Volunteers emancipate the World !

But Hampshire volunteers never had a chance to prove their mettle, for soon the French fleets were swept off the seas. So numerous were the prisoners, that every town in the south was overcrowded with them. Over 7,000 were packed into Portchester Castle ; several crowded hulks lay in Portsmouth Harbour ; the old Wool House at Southampton received a large number ; and a number of officers were quartered as far north as Odiham. At one time, it was said, as many as 70,000 prisoners were being detained in Hampshire.

Before we leave the "War" period we must not fail to notice how many of the English leaders in the long struggles had some connexion with Hampshire. Rockbourne, near

Fordingbridge, was the home of Sir Eyre Coote, the conqueror of the French in India. Lord Rodney lived at Old Alresford. In North Stoneham Church is a great memorial to Lord Hawke, the victor of Quiberon Bay (1759). Sir Harry Burrard, at one time Commander in the Peninsula, belonged to an old Lymington family. At Stratfieldsaye the Duke of Wellington received for his great services to the nation a fine estate. Lastly, Nelson's *Victory* remains to us—a *national*, not a Hampshire possession—as a memorial of him who was, perhaps, the greatest of all.

For twenty years after the close of the Great War the working-classes of England were in a condition of deep distress, and the Hampshire labourers were no exception to the prevailing rule. The price of corn fell rapidly; wide stretches of Downland, which had been cultivated when prices were high, were now allowed to go out of cultivation, and thus many labourers either lost employment or suffered a reduction in wages. Poor-rates mounted higher and higher, so high that the farmers took to employing able-bodied paupers, in order that they might save the wages of paid labourers. All this tended to make the country people still poorer. In some Hampshire villages, we are told, wages sank as low as 6*s*. a week! Corn was scarce, and population rapidly increasing, so that many of the poor were on the verge of starvation.

In order to economize and to secure greater returns from their lands, the farmers began to make a more extensive use of machinery, and this threw still more labourers out of work. Discontent in Hampshire reached such a pitch that in 1830 serious riots broke out all over the county. At Fordingbridge the mob destroyed the mills, and would have done the same at Ringwood had not the men of that place offered timely resistance. At Clatford, more machinery was destroyed. In the east of the county great mobs collected, armed with bludgeons, sledge-hammers, and crowbars. Machines were smashed, ricks and houses fired, an attack was delivered on Selborne Poor House, and at Headley the Poor House was demolished. At Northington, Mr. Baring, a county magis-

trate and M. P., narrowly escaped with his life, struck down as he was by a heavy blow from a sledge-hammer. The riots were suppressed, but not until another step had been taken in the decline of the country districts.

In Selborne Churchyard the grave is still pointed out of one of the rioters, who escaped his pursuers and lay hid for some weeks in the dense woods of Selborne Hanger.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MODERN HAMPSHIRE

THERE have been several periods in the history of our county when great and rapid changes took place. Such a period was the reign of William the Conqueror, and the Tudor period was another. But during no period have the changes been so great and so rapid as during the last seventy or eighty years. Very much of Old Hampshire has disappeared and a new Hampshire is taking its place. Smart houses of red brick replace the solid stone or the flimsy wood and plaster of the old cottages; railway trains have long ago expelled the stage-coaches; old packhorse tracks are now well-paved motor roads; old industries have disappeared, new ones have taken their place; great new towns have sprung up, and ancient towns have expanded far beyond their early boundaries; and the locomotive, the motor, and the bicycle have done much to transform the manners and customs of the people even in remote corners of the county.

Perhaps the greatest difference between old and new Hampshire is to be found in the occupations of the people. In 1801 over 30,000 out of a population of 200,000 were engaged in agriculture. In 1901 the population of the county was nearly 720,000, and of these fewer than 25,000 were directly engaged "on the land". In almost every part of the county, population in the country districts has declined. Only where new industries, such as fruit-growing and market-gardening, have sprung up, or where

a railway colony has settled, has the population shown a tendency to increase.

It is by reason of the great change that has come over Hampshire industries that this shifting of the population has taken place. The old industries have almost entirely disappeared—weaving at Winchester, Andover, Petersfield, Alton, and Basingstoke ; silk-manufacture at Alton, Andover, Whitchurch, and Odiham ; salt-making at Lymington and in Langstone Harbour ; and iron-smelting in the south of the New Forest and on the Sussex border. The ancient fishing industry still gives employment to some 300 or 400 fishermen in the south, and forestry shows some signs of reviving. Sheep-rearing and hop-growing are other ancient industries which are by no means dead yet.

Of the new industries engineering is one of the most important—including as it does the manufacture of farm implements, locomotives, iron ships, and ships' engines. Not only at Southampton, Portsmouth, and Eastleigh (the Railway Works); but at Basingstoke, Alton, and Ringwood, this industry in some form is carried on. Brick-making is an industry which flourishes on the clay-beds that flank the chalk on the north and south.

The rapid growth of Southampton trade, and the use of Southampton Water and the Solent as homes for pleasure- and racing-yachts, have brought a great seafaring population to our southern coasts. A journey along the eastern shore of Southampton Water from Southampton to Gosport would lead the traveller to imagine some future period when population will be continuous along all that coast.

Agricultural industry has itself changed. Less corn is grown than formerly, and more land is given up to market-gardening and fruit-growing. In the neighbourhood of Botley and Bishop's Waltham is now one of the great strawberry-growing districts of England.

The railways have been very largely responsible for this transformed Hampshire. For they have helped industries and caused the towns to grow ; they have brought

Photograph by Leo G. Nicoll, 37 Commercial Road, Bournemouth.

BOURNEMOUTH

visitors to enjoy the sea-breezes and the woodlands of the south; and they have revived the decayed fortunes of such places as Southampton. In 1839 the London and Southampton Railway (since become a part of the South-Western System) was open from London to Basingstoke, and from Southampton to Winchester. The coach was still used for the eighteen miles over the Downs, but by the next year this difficult stretch of line was completed. Extensions were made to Portsmouth; from Basingstoke to Salisbury; and from Southampton, westwards, through Ringwood into Dorsetshire. In 1858 the Petersfield line to Portsmouth was opened. Still more recently the rapid growth of Portsmouth and Gosport rendered another line necessary—the "Meon Valley" line from Alton to Fareham. Further west the new direct line to Bournemouth was opened in 1888 to meet the needs of that giant infant among towns.

The rise of Bournemouth from a few fishermen's huts to be one of the most elegant of English watering-places can only be compared with the "mushroom" growth of towns like Middlesborough and Barrow in the north. Where, seventy years ago, a waste of sandy heaths and dense pine woods stretched along the shore, is now a town of nearly 60,000 inhabitants.

Other Hampshire towns whose history has yet to be made are Aldershot and Eastleigh. Aldershot, the offspring of the Crimean War, was a mere village when, in 1854, the great camp was placed there by a Government hastening to remedy the havoc which forty years of neglect had caused in our Army and Navy. The village has now become a town of over 30,000 inhabitants. Farnborough, in its neighbourhood, has grown very rapidly too. Near the town still resides the Empress Eugénie, the widow of the unfortunate French Emperor, Napoleon III. The remains of her husband, and of their only son (who was killed in the Zulu War), lie within the stately church of St. Michael, built by her to receive them.

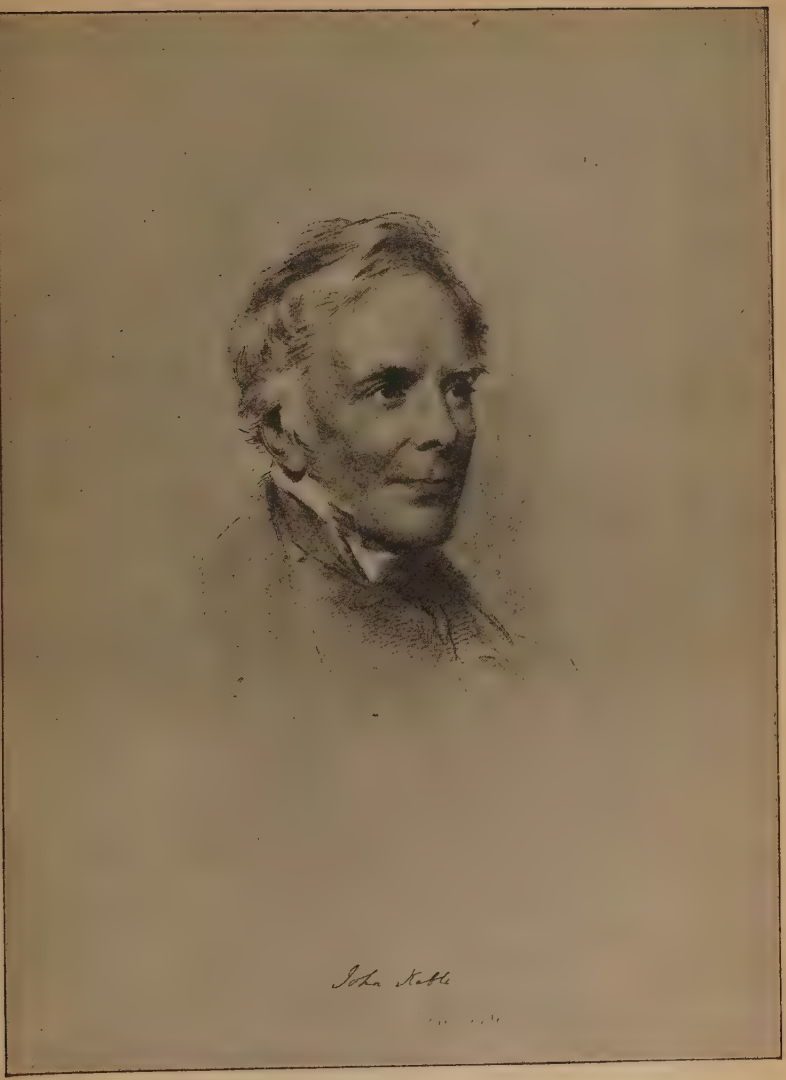
Eastleigh—like a great splash of red-brick and slate upon the green face of the country—promises soon to be

a town of 20,000 inhabitants. Even now it is probably larger than Southampton was a century ago.

While new towns have been springing up, the ancient centres have expanded far beyond their original borders. Portsmouth is steadily swallowing up the green fields of Portsea Island, and Southampton every year eats farther and farther into the heaths and woodlands on the northern side. Each of the two is now not only huge in itself, but is surrounded by populous suburbs, like Gosport or Woolston.

To meet the spiritual needs of so great a population new churches and chapels have sprung up in every direction. Hampshire could probably show more churches and chapels built since 1800 than were left from all the centuries which preceded that date. Not only were new buildings set up in those places where population was growing, but in many villages where the ancient church had fallen into decay a new one was built. One of the best examples of churches of this kind is that at Hursley, built in the time of the famous vicar, the Rev. John Keble. Much of the energy shown by the builders of churches, and much of the zeal and care with which the "temples of God" were cleansed after years of neglect, were due to the example of this saintly man. At Eversley, in the north of the county, the Rev. Charles Kingsley was reviving the Church's activity in other ways, following the example of its Founder in devoting himself to the poor and needy. Fortunately such men were supported by able bishops, and Church and Chapel alike did their utmost in attending to the spiritual wants of the rapidly growing population.

One unfortunate result of this revived Church life we must, however, still deplore. The builders of the new churches swept away much that was ancient, historic, and interesting; much that can never be replaced. At St. Thomas's, Winchester, in the Candovers, at Ringwood, Otterbourne, Linkenholt, Itchen-Stoke, and in Winchester College Chapel, such losses have occurred. Fine as some of the new churches are, notably those of Freefolk and Northington, we must always feel sorry when old memorials of the past are allowed to disappear. Let us hope that rich



JOHN KEBLE

and poor alike will unite in future to preserve all those monuments which still keep alive the memory of the great history which our country has had.

One more change must be mentioned before we bring the story of Hampshire to a close. This is a change in methods of government. In the towns the old corporations, such as were described in Chapter XXI, were entirely reorganized and took their present form in 1834. Successive Reform Acts deprived the small towns of their right to send members to Parliament, and the whole county is now divided into five areas, each of which sends a member. These five parliamentary divisions are those of Basingstoke, Andover, New Forest, Fareham, and Petersfield. In addition, Portsmouth and Southampton return two members each, Winchester returns one.

The actual administration of the county continued for some time to be carried on by the parish authorities (see Chapter XXVI) and by the Justices of the Peace assembled in Sessions at Winchester. In 1888 County Councils were formed, and now the Hampshire County Council controls police, roads and bridges, education, weights and measures, and most of the other details of local government which were once attended to by parish vestries, beadles, and constables.

Finally, we have seen the formation in Hampshire of a County Association, responsible for the maintenance of that portion of the Territorial Army which is raised in our county.

Again and again in the foregoing pages we have seen Hampshire men standing to their arms when danger threatened. If the occasion should ever arise, Hampshire men, knowing what their county has stood for through English history, and remembering both the glories of Alfred and the steady devotion of knights like Sir Bernard Brocas, or nobles like the defender of Basing, would not be found wanting. But we trust that the necessity may never arise, and that Hampshire may go on and flourish, enriched by

> Many an inland town and haven large,
> Mast-thronged beneath her shadowing citadel.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SCHOOLS OF HAMPSHIRE

In preceding chapters much has been said about the life of Hampshire people in bygone ages. But little has yet been said by way of answer to one question that might be asked—whether Hampshire boys (if not girls) received any education in former times, and if so, what were their schools? So, in this chapter, now that we have read the story of our county, we will look back again over the ages and see what answer can be given to the question.

Schools in Hampshire are almost as old as Christianity itself. Those early bishops of whom we read in Chapter V had schools attached to their little colonies. When monasteries sprang up, each important house possessed a school. We cannot doubt, for example, that a school existed in connexion with St. Swithun's Priory from the time of Alfred. There was another school in Winchester in the time of King John — a City School. Perhaps the " High School " of which we hear something in 1367 was successor to this early City School. For when Bishop Wykeham held an inquiry into the affairs of St. Cross' Hospital it was found that thirteen boys from the City High School were being fed daily in Hundred Men's Hall. The school did not disappear until long after Wykeham's time.

St. Swithun's Priory School soon after the Norman Conquest ceased to educate any but those who were preparing to become monks, and other English monasteries began also to neglect the work of educating any but their own " novices ". So when Bishop Wykeham desired to raise

the numbers of his clergy and the standard of learning among them, he did not turn for help to his Cathedral monastery. Instead, he founded a college of " Seculars " —of those who were intended to work *in saeculo* (see Chapter XV). Many " colleges " of clergy had been founded in England before Wykeham's time—bodies of Seculars who lived in a community though not under a monastic rule. Many of these " colleges " of clergy conducted schools, and what Wykeham did at Winchester was to found a " college ", of which the school should be the chief part. The members of his college fell naturally into two main groups. There were, first, those who maintained the services without which a " college " in the Church sense could not exist. Such were the three chaplains, the three lay clerks, and the sixteen choristers. Secondly, there were those who were more concerned with the educational work. Such were the Head Master, the ten fellows, the usher, and the seventy scholars. Over all was the Warden. Imagine, if you can, the Dean, the canons, and choir of Winchester Cathedral formed into one body with the Head Master, the teachers, and the boys of a modern Grammar School, all living together in one great building, wearing each a special dress, and obeying one code of rules. Then you will have some idea of the intention in William of Wykeham's mind when he founded his great " College of St Mary in Winton ".

The history of that college would fill a much larger book than this. So, instead of allowing it to overshadow too much the other Hampshire schools, let us see what other schools existed in our county soon after the time when " College " was founded.

The ministers of Henry VIII and Edward VI, after the fall of the monasteries, seized upon much property which had been used to support schools. Many schools which had existed in the Middle Ages disappeared in this way, and, as a rule, new schools were not founded to replace them until long afterwards. Thus at Alton and at Odiham certain " stipendiary " priests were paid from money left by parishioners, not only to help the parish clergyman in the church but also " to teache children

College of St. Mary in Winton

Reproduced by permission from a MS. in the possession of New College.

grammar ". At Basingstoke, the famous Holy Ghost Guild since 1538 had supported a "Scole Master". The Guild was abolished in Edward VI's reign, but Queen Mary revived it, and from that day to this a Grammar School has been kept at Basingstoke. The ruins of the old school may still be seen a little to the west of Holy Ghost Chapel.

After the Reformation efforts were made to replace the schools which had disappeared and to plant schools in places where they had not previously existed. The Free Grammar School of Southampton was founded in 1551 "for the education and institution and instruction of boys and youths in grammar". "Grammar" in those days meant something very different from the dry parsing and dull work which we often associate with the word to-day. No, in the sixteenth century, the writings of the great authors of ancient Greece and Rome, had been restored by the Revival of Learning, and in their books all knowledge worth having was then thought to be contained. The study of "Grammar" was the study of these writings, and it included the study of the subjects with which the authors dealt. The Southampton school also gave boys a thorough knowledge of French. It was a custom at the school in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to require the boys to speak in French on pain of having to wear a dunce's cap at meal times! Another custom, found at nearly all Grammar Schools for many years, was that the boys should attend Church every Sunday morning, and that on the next day, the elder boys should present a composition exercise on the sermon.

Other Grammar Schools were founded at Ringwood in 1586 by Richard Lyne, at Alton by Eggar in 1638, at Odiham by Robert May in 1694, and at Alresford (Perin's School) in 1696. A successful naval officer and East India trader, Richard Churcher, anxious to encourage the trade of the East India Company, founded a school at Petersfield to train boys to become apprentices on the Company's vessels. But hardly any boys could be found whose parents wished them to go on board ship, and so the school became like any other town school.

At Christchurch, in 1662, a loft-hall in the Priory Church was set apart for use as a Grammar School.

Portsmouth was behind other towns in the provision of a Grammar School. Complaint was made in 1717 at the town court that no school was yet built. In 1732 William Smith, a physician in the Navy, came forward to supply the need. But so neglectful was the Oxford College which had charge of the school, that buildings were not put up for a long time, and for many years the school was allowed to struggle on as best it could. The revival came, however, about forty years ago, and Portsmouth Grammar School now holds a high position among the county's schools.

The schools we have described were used mainly by the children of the well-to-do. But the children of the poor were not neglected—at least, not in every place. Schools known as Petty Schools, where children could learn "reading, writing, and casting accounts", existed at Broughton, Cliddesden, Basingstoke, Kingsclere, Dummer, and Christchurch, even in the seventeenth century. These were only the "endowed" schools—those for which money had been left in wills or otherwise provided. No doubt there were others kept possibly by poor widows or by crippled men. Often schools were held in churches. At Portsmouth, in 1651, a schoolmaster was ordered not to "suffer his scolards to anoy the churchyarde", and in 1652 not to allow his "scolards" to play in the church. At St. Lawrence Church, Southampton, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the churchwarden entered in his account—"Received of Mr. Malerie, skoulmaster, to paie for spoilles made by hym and his skollerdes in y^e^ church—6*d*."

In 1689 a Society was founded with the special object of providing schools for the poor. This was the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge", and through its influence many new schools known as "Charity Schools" were founded. In these the children of poor parents learnt "reading, writing, and casting accounts", and, in addition, the girls learnt knitting and sewing, and the boys a useful trade. In 1713 there

were Charity Schools at Basingstoke, Alton, Andover, Odiham, Selborne, Wherwell, Titchfield, Dummer, Winchester, Corhampton, and some other places. Rich London merchants supported some of these schools, and at many of them it became the custom to clothe the children as well as to teach them, and so we get Blue-coat, Grey-coat, and Green-coat Schools. For example, at Basingstoke, in 1786, it was agreed that each boy at the school founded by Richard Aldworth in 1646 should

School House at Bramshott, Eighteenth Century

be provided with " two jackets, one waistcoat, one pair of leather breeches, two pair of yellow hose, two shirts, two bands, one red girdle, one pair of yellow square buckles, one cap tied with yellow ferret and two pair of shoes ".

Other schools were founded in the eighteenth century. Such was the school at Bramshott. Boldre School was founded by a good vicar, the Rev. William Gilpin, with money he received for books and sketches dealing with the New Forest.

At the beginning of last century two new societies were set up, which we may call for short, the " National "

(Church) and the "British" (Undenominational) Societies. The "National" and "British" Schools which came into existence through the work of these two societies are far too numerous to mention. After 1870 the School Boards completed the supply of schools, so that every boy or girl might have the means of education.

To conclude this chapter we may do honour to a poor Portsmouth man, who became the real founder of Ragged Schools. This was John Pounds, a crippled shoemaker, who began in 1818 to teach children freely in his little house in St. Mary's Street. Old books, fragments of newspaper, and handbills, he used in teaching them to read; and he not only taught his children, but nursed them in sickness, made them playthings, took them for walks, and was their companion in everything. He was a true teacher, and the monument erected in the High Street Chapel is a well-deserved memorial to a Hampshire man who lived for the cause of Education.

CHAPTER XXX

HAMPSHIRE WRITERS

HAMPSHIRE can show a very long list of the names of distinguished writers who have been born in the county, or have done much of their work in one of its many peaceful corners. So numerous are the retired and quiet spots by forest, sea, and river-valley, and such are the natural beauties of the county, that literature has always flourished within our borders.

Almost the earliest of Hampshire writers was the great Alfred himself. Chapter VI has described his work at Winchester, the compiling of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the works of translation, and the formation of a regular "school" of writers. From the time of Alfred the two great Winchester monasteries, St. Swithun's and New Minster, continued the work of producing books. Each monastery had its "Annalist" or Keeper of the Chronicles.

From the *Liber de Hyda*—the Book of Hyde—we can learn much not only about the history of Winchester, but of the history of England as well. The Annalist of St. Swithun's tells us a great deal about events in Winchester in Henry III's reign, and another monk named Rudborne has left behind him a Chronicle, in which, however, a good deal of romance is mixed with sober history. Sometimes there seem to have been sudden bursts of energy at St. Swithun's, and at such times we find a whole group of writers. When Ethelwold was bishop (see Chapter VII) the monastery contained Latin poets like Wulfstan, writers of sermons like Elfric, and illuminators of books like Godeman.

But in the later part of the Middle Ages, the monasteries did almost as little for literature as for education. The Friars became the literary men of the Church. One of them, John of Basingstoke, was a friend of Simon de Montfort, and of Bishop Grosseteste, who tried so hard to reform the Church in Henry III's reign. John of Basingstoke was one of the few men in England in the Middle Ages who knew any Greek. For Bishop Grosseteste sent him into Greece, where he collected some ancient Christian writings, and translated them from Greek into Latin. Roger Bacon, the great Oxford Friar, was a friend and helper of John.

After the Reformation the activity of Hampshire writers continued, though in a different way. John Lilly, born at Odiham, became Head Master of St. Paul's School in London in 1518. While there he drew up a Latin Grammar which became one of the most famous of all English school-books. For in 1540 King Henry VIII, "considering the great encumbrance to young and tender wits by reason of the diversity of grammar rules and teachings", since every master taught grammar in his own way, ordered that one book should be drawn up and used, and that no other should be allowed. The grammar that was used in drawing up this book was John Lilly's. Many thousands of boys have learned their declensions and conjugations after the manner prescribed by this famous native of Odiham.

"The Wakes" at Selborne

In the reign of Henry VIII there was living in Hampshire another man who was destined to have a share in producing a book that would be more widely used even than Lilly's Grammar. This was Thomas Sternhold, a *Groom of the Robes* to Henry VIII. He, with a friend named Hopkins, produced an edition of the Psalms "drawne into Englishe Metre", in the hope that these sacred verses might take the place of the vulgar and coarse songs which were heard at Court. The book had a wider circulation than any other book in the English language, with the exception of the Bible and the Prayer Book. *Sternhold and Hopkins* was, in fact, to be found in every English home until about a hundred years ago. Sternhold lived on an estate at Slackstead, near Hursley, his share of the spoils of Hyde Abbey.

Sternhold was the first of a number of famous hymn-writers whose work is associated with Hampshire. Prebendary Ken of Winchester, afterwards one of the "Seven Bishops", was probably at Winchester when he wrote the well-known Morning and Evening Hymns, the one beginning, "Awake my soul and with the sun," and the other, "Glory to Thee my God this night."

A little later, Isaac Watts, a Southampton man, was writing hymns that are sung to-day wherever the English language is spoken. One need only mention "O God our help in ages past"; "Jesu shall reign where'er the sun"; and "There is a land of pure delight", to show how well known Watts's "Divine Songs" are. The hymn last mentioned is said to have been composed by Watts as he stood on the shore of the Test at Southampton, and looked across the water towards fields and woods aglow in the light of the setting sun. Hence those lines:

> Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood
> Stand dressed in living green.

Another famous hymn, written like this one at sunset time, is the work of the good Vicar of Hursley, John Keble. This is the well-known "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear". How many Hampshire people who sing these

well-known hymns realize their connexion with their own county ?

Among other poets who are associated with Hampshire is George Wither of Bentworth, who speaks in one poem of the "beechy shadows of our Bentworth". He also was a writer of hymns. During the Civil War he raised a troop for the service of Parliament. He was taken prisoner and carried to Oxford, where his Royalist rival, Denham, begged the king not to hang him, for, said he, "while Wither lives, Denham will not be the worst poet in England."

Thomas Wharton of Basingstoke wrote, more than a century ago, a great *History of English Poetry*—a book which is still used. Poets who have visited the county from time to time have made mention of its scenery in their works. Sir Walter Scott wrote some portions of *Marmion* while staying with a friend near Christchurch. In the Introduction he refers to :

> Ytene's oaks—beneath whose shade
> Their theme the merry minstrels made.

The poet Keats was at Winchester when he wrote his poem "To Autumn". The fat granaries and well-stocked orchards which he saw in his walk around that city led him to write a poem so full of contentment and peace.

Tennyson had in mind the southern shores of the county when he wrote :

> Groves of pine on either hand
> To break the blast of winter, stand ;
> And, further on, the hoary Channel
> Tumbles a billow on chalk and sand.

Our county is remarkable, too, for the great number of literary clergymen it has produced. Nicholas Udall, a Hampshire man, was a flogging schoolmaster at Eton in Henry VIII's reign, and while there, he wrote one of the earliest English comedies, *Ralph Roister Doister*. Peter Heylin of Alresford wrote a *Life of Archbishop Laud*. Dr. Ward of Bishop's Waltham was one of the

translators of the Bible. Gilbert White of Selborne, curate of Faringdon, wrote the most fascinating book on Natural History in the English language. Every year many visitors journey to Selborne to see "The Wakes" (see page 245), the home where this quiet country clergyman lived for so many years, and learned so much about the secret ways of Nature. William Gilpin of Boldre was one of the first to write about the beauties of the New Forest. Richard Trench, Vicar of Curdridge, then of Alverstoke, and afterwards of Itchen-Stoke, was author of a still famous book *On the Study of Words.* Charles Kingsley, the helper and friend of the poor at Eversley, is too well known to all of us to need any long account. John Keble of Hursley has already been mentioned.

And these are not all. Few other counties could show a list of literary clergymen equal to that of which Hampshire can boast.

The lady-writers whose work is associated with Hampshire are by no means few. Chief among them is Jane Austen of Steventon and Chawton House. The house where she died in 1817 in College Street, Winchester, is marked by an inscription.

Miss Mitford, born at Alresford, was the author of a book known to many of us—*Our Village.* The village so well described there is, however, *not* Alresford.

At Otterbourne lived Charlotte Yonge, a close friend of the Kebles of Hursley. Her story, *The Heir of Redcliffe,* is the one we know best, perhaps.

While we are speaking of novelists, let us not forget that Portsmouth can claim the birthplace of Charles Dickens. The house in Commercial Road is now a museum. Dickens himself says that he was too young when his parents left Portsmouth to remember his birthplace. Portsmouth was also the first home of George Meredith and Sir Walter Besant.

Lastly, let us not forget the great historian who had a house and estate at Buriton near Petersfield, and who, during the danger of the Seven Years' War, became a major in the Hants Militia. Edward Gibbon spent at Buriton, from 1758–62, a period which he calls "that portion of

my life which I passed with the least enjoyment, and which I remember with the least satisfaction ". Country life with its sports, its roughness, its buying and selling, did not suit so studious and retiring a man. Already he was contemplating " at an awful distance " his great *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and as soon as he could he left Hampshire in order to begin it.

Our county cannot claim him as one of its great writers, but even without him, the number we have already considered shows how high a place Hampshire occupies among the " literary " counties of England.

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